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SUBVERSION OF LAW ENFORCEMENT INTELLIGENCE GATHERING OPERATIONS

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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PART 1

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR A FIFTH ESTATE

MARCH 26, 1976

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

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SUBVERSION OF LAW ENFORCEMENT INTELLIGENCE GATHERING OPERATIONS

Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate

FRIDAY, MARCH 26, 1976

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 3:45 p.m., in room 2228, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Strom Thurmond presiding.

Also present: Richard L. Schultz, chief counsel; Robert J. Short, senior investigator; and David Martin, senior analyst.

Senator THURMOND. The meeting will come to order.

Today's hearing is in furtherance of the subcommittee's continuing inquiry into efforts directed toward the subversion of law enforcement intelligence gathering operations. It is important that the Congress and the people of the United States learn more about revolutionary and terroristic organizations that operate in the country. These organizations do not operate in a vacuum. They are, of course, made up of human beings whose activities provide the only meaningful method by which we may learn their true purposes, goals, and objectives. Only by examining the origin, nature, extent, and effect of the activities in which these individuals and organizations become engaged, can we gain some understanding concerning the relationship of their activities upon the execution of the laws effecting the internal security of the United States.

On December 23, 1975, Richard S. Welch, a CIA agent. located in Athens, Greece, was shot and killed by unknown assassins. The assassination took place shortly after the public identification of Welch as a CIA agent. This public identification of Welch appeared in a Washington publication entitled "Counter Spy" which is the public identity for the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate. Numerous editorials and newspaper articles written about the assassination of CIA agent Richard Welch have suggested that by exposing Welch, the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate made itself morally responsible for his assassination. The Internal Security Subcommittee neither seeks nor intends to sit in judgment thereon.

We do intend, however, to examine the activities of this organization—for it is clear that the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate interlocks with revolutionary and terrorist elements in the United

States. The body of publicly available information would tend to suggest that the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate seeks nothing less than the total destruction of our intelligence capabilities, both internal and external.

Our witness is the distinguished gentleman from Georgia, Congressman Larry P. McDonald. Although this is his first term in Congress, Mr. McDonald has emerged as one of the leading congressional authorities on terrorism and subversion. Congressman McDonald's speeches in the Congressional Record, providing details on the organization and plans of violence-oriented subversives have been widely circulated within the Government and in the public sector.

It gives me great pleasure to welcome the gentleman from Georgia to our hearing today.

Congressman McDonald, will you stand and be sworn? Do you swear that the evidence you will give in these hearings will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. McDonald. I do.

Senator Thurmond. You have a statement, I believe, Congressman.

Mr. McDonald. Yes; Mr. Chairman.

Senator Thurmond. You may proceed.

TESTIMONY OF HON. LARRY P. McDONALD, CONGRESSMAN FROM GEORGIA

Mr. McDonald. Mr. Chairman, I'm in an unusual position here today, I have often publicly criticized the Central Intelligence Agency for its support of leftist and socialist groups overseas. However, it remains the only agency of our Government charged with the responsibility of obtaining the vital intelligence we need to make policy decisions.

There is a worldwide drive on the part of the Communist bloc's intelligence services to destroy the CIA.

It is shocking to realize that there are groups in the United States helping them in that drive. The organization I will discuss today is called the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate.

The Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate (OC–5), now operating from 2000 P Street, suite 403, Washington, D.C. 20036, telephone No. 202–785–8385, has recently been given national publicity through its involvement with the assassination of the Central Intelligence Agency chief of station in Athens, Greece, Richard Welch.

However, despite the OC–5 being specifically cited by former CIA Director William Colby as in large part responsible for the murder of Welch, and despite interviews with the OC–5 principals on nationwide television and the press, little or no mention has been made of the organization's close ties to Communist groups, to the Communist Party of Cuba, and to their continuing harassment of the intelligence community at both local and national levels.

My evidence today will be concerned with the formation of OC–5, members of the group and those involved with it as members of a so-called advisory board.

Tim Butz, a prime mover in OC–5, wrote in a letter to the radical chic publication More for March 1976 that, "Richard Welch was killed not because his name appeared in the Counter-Spy or the Athens

Daily News, but rather because his job as the CIA station chief in Athens made him a symbol of the CIA's interference in the affairs of the Greek people."

We have heard that theory before—the mugger or murderer is not at fault, the victim had no business being on the street in the first place.

Much of the OC–5 attack on the CIA parallels the attacks by the East German Communist agent Julius Mader. In 1968, the East Germans published Mader's book "Who's Who in CIA." The book indicated only that it was published in Berlin, to lead the unsuspecting reader to think it came from West Berlin. Mader listed alleged CIA agents in the same way OC–5 does.

The possibility that someone not even connected with CIA might be murdered by the Communist terrorists as a result of this type of publication is brought out clearly in the supplement Mader published in 1969–70, entitled, "Where Is the CIA?"

This publication listed as alleged CIA-controlled organizations, the AFL–CIO, the New York Times, Newsweek, and of all things the Atlanta Journal and Constitution. It even listed a "CIA apparatus" that is identified as "Ivy League Colleges."

Senator THURMOND. Congressman McDonald, would you tell us how OC–5 originated, and who is behind the action?

Mr. McDONALD. OC–5, in its embryonic form was spawned at a November 1972 gathering of the Communist Party, U.S.A.—dominated—People's Coalition for Peace and Justice—PCPJ—and was known as the Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community, or CARIC. CARIC then operated from room 523, the DuPont Circle Building, Washington, D.C. 20036 and from P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044.

During the past 3 years, the OC–5 has operated with impunity and has been able to serve as a clearinghouse for the many groups involved in attacking aspects of the information-gathering programs of Federal and local law enforcement agencies.

Senator THURMOND. Congressman McDonald, who are the people who founded CARIC, what do you know about them, and are they still active with the OC–5?

Mr. McDONALD. At that time CARIC was founded and operated by four people, all members of the violence-prone Communist organization the Vietnam Veterans Against the War—VVAW. It was, in fact, an official project of VVAW; those involved were as follows: Perry Douglas Fellwock, also known as Winslow Peck, age 30; Timothy Charles Butz, age 28; K. Barton Osborn and Gary Thomas. Each of the four claim service in some branch of the intelligence community and each has a record of involvement with the radical, Communist-dominated segments of the peace movement.

Perry Douglas Fellwock first received attention from the national media in August 1972, when Ramparts magazine published a 16-page interview or debriefing with him in which he claimed a detailed knowledge of the intelligence-gathering and evaluation programs of the National Security Agency—NSA—and the U.S. Air Force.

In the Ramparts article, volume II, No. 2, page 35, entitled, "U.S. Electronic Espionage: A Memoir," Fellwock claimed that he had worked as an NSA analyst in Turkey for 2 years, developing information obtained from monitoring Russian and other communications

traffic. In Vietnam he claimed to have been assigned to airborne radio direction finding missions, and added that on mustering out he was offered a GS–9 rating by the Central Intelligence Agency. Comments on the Ramparts article by the New York Times, which made it a front-page story on July 16, 1972, indicated that Fellwock had released information which was of some substance and which had been previously classified.

Perry Fellwock was raised in Joplin, Mo., and attended college in the Midwest. He joined the Air Force in 1966. After basic training, he volunteered for a NSA training school and claimed to have graduated at the head of his class. He was then, according to his own statement, assigned to Karamursel, Turkey, as an intelligence analyst. Fellwock stated that in 1968 he volunteered for duty in Southeast Asia and was stationed at Pleiku, South Vietnam, as staff sergeant. His tour of duty in Vietnam was from November 1968 to October 1969. He was released from active duty on October 29, 1969 in California to return to 329 N. Moffet, or to 1617 Byers Avenue, Joplin, Mo. 64801.

In late April 1971, Fellwock, using the alias Winslow Peck, appeared in Washington, D.C. with the Vietnam Veterans Against the War—VVAW—as part of their Dewey Canyon III project. He remained in Washington for the May Day disturbances and then dropped out of sight to reappear at the May Day "Gathering of the Tribes" in Atlanta, Ga., August 10 through 17, 1971. At this conference Fellwock or Peck took something of a leadership role in planning the "Off the Wall" scenario designed—but never implemented—to disrupt the Wall Street area of New York City in the fall of 1971.

From Atlanta, Fellwock or Peck, linked up with Mayday Tribe activitists Mike Drobenaire, Karen Menconeri, Gordon Finch, Bill Kittridge, John Boldt, Joen Beatty, Coco Crystal, and Lucy Vargas to stay in New York in an attempt to persuade local groups to work on "Off the Wall."

Unsuccessful, the group split up with Fellwock or Peck moving to Washington, D.C., living at 1747 Lanier Place NW., and working as an organizer for the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) on the People's Panel project and the fall antiwar actions.

At this time, using his Peck alias, Fellwock was one of two people signing the lease for the PCPJ offices at 917 15th Street NW., with the real estate company of Greenhost, Inc. In January 1972, an eviction notice for nonpayment of rent was enforced, resulting in abandoned PCPJ files, mailing lists, correspondence, furniture and office equipment being put out into the street. And in passing, Senator, I must note that many complaints by dissidents of FBI surveillance, and so forth, and the publication of "private" papers originate with abandonment, as in this case.

In November 1971, Fellwock or Peck joined some 50 radicals led by Rennie Davis at Allamuchy, N.J., to plan demonstrations in San Diego at the Republican National Convention. At this time he became active in the affairs of the Anti-War Union (AWU), the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and other radical groups.

Early in 1972, Fellwock or Peck joined the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) as a paid staff member, working with that group on planning for its children's march for survival in Washington, D.C., on March 24. At least six members of the Rennie Davis

apparatus went on the NWRO payroll at this time. Nevertheless, his duties at NWRO were not sufficiently arduous to prevent him from attending the Red Balloon Collective's inaugural of the Red Party at the State University of New York Stony Brook Campus, March 3 to 5.

Soon after the so-called children's march, Fellwock or Peck left the District of Columbia for the west coast. He associated with the radicals gathering in San Diego to plan for the disruption of the Republican National Convention, then scheduled to take place in that city. While living at 2413 Market Street, San Diego, Fellwock or Peck first attempted to launch his CARIC project; but little interest was shown and he apparently put the project aside in favor of "telling all" to Ramparts.

In the first week of May 1972, Fellwock or Peck registered at the Durant Hotel, Berkeley, Calif. A week of interviews with Ramparts editors Peter Collier and David Horowitz resulted in the article, "U.S. Electronic Espionage: A Memoir."

I would just like to note in passing that Peter A. Collier, 33, at that time executive editor of Ramparts and a member of its board of directors, has been active in antiwar and radical politics in California since 1965 when he was a student at the University of California at Berkeley. His association with the magazine dates back to February 1967.

David J. Horowitz, 34, graduated from Columbia University. As a graduate student majoring in Chinese classics at the University of California at Berkeley, he organized a radical publishing collective in 1961. He is the author of many articles appearing in radical Marxist journals. He has been actively associated with the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars (CCAS) which has sent delegations to Hanoi and Peking. Horowitz can be described as one of the leading intellectual Marxists of the New Left; and by his participation in lecturing, speaking at rallies, participating in radical seminars and writing, he has actively pursued every opportunity to espouse his radical philosophy.

The decision by Fellwock or Peck to "tell all" was not sudden. During the year that he spent about Washington, he was compulsive with his confessions. In fact, Fellwock or Peck had planned to reveal the secrets of the NSA, if not the universe, on a Saturday afternoon in October 1971, at an antiwar gathering—a People's Grand Jury. He was prevented from speaking by Rennie Davis.

Doubtless Fellwock's or Peck's decision to provide Ramparts with a scoop was based on that publication's reputation with the movement. Information developed suggests that Fellwock's initial contact with Ramparts was through Marcus Raskin, codirector of the Institute for Policy Studies who at that time was moonlighting as a contributing editor for the magazine, and who maintains a relationship with OC–5 to this time as a member of its advisory board.

Despite his compulsion to share his knowledge of the National Security Agency with the movement at large, Fellwock/Peck was paranoid about security. When May Day and PCPJ groups suspected Gordon Finch, an antiwar organizer from Syracuse, N.Y., of working for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Peck quickly suggested that Finch should be found, captured, and interrogated.

In a statement to the New York Times, July 16, 1972, Fellwock or Peck is quoted as saying:

> I know the FBI knows who I am. I'd like to avoid publicity but I'm willing to go through a trial and, if I have to, I'll go to jail. But I no longer feel the oath that I made when I was released from duty to never say anything about what I did is binding on me.

And in the Ramparts interview Fellwock/Peck is qouted:

> Daniel Ellsberg's releasing the Pentagon Papers made me want to talk. It's a burden; in a way I just want to get rid of it. I don't want to get sentimental or corny about it, but I've made some friends who love the Indochinese people. This is my way of loving them too.

On July 18, 1972, the Ramparts offices in Berkeley were the location for a press conference at which "Winslow Peck," flanked and dominated by Peter Collier and David Horowitz, provided meager personal information on himself and attempted to generate some publicity for his "memoirs."

It was stated at the press conference that the "secrets" revealed by the former noncommissioned officer provided solid evidence that U.S. defense spending could be slashed in accordance with Senator McGovern's Presidential campaign posture. The press was also informed that 50 hours of tapes were made in preparing the article. It is noted that the article consists of some 24,000 words and takes less than 90 minutes to read aloud.

Back in Washington. D.C., in October, Fellwock/Peck was arrested with eight other members of VVAW at an antiwar demonstration. With this added "credential" he traveled to Chicago in November for a Thanksgiving weekend conference called by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), an organization dominated by the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA). At this gathering, Fellwock/Peck distributed a leaflet announcing the formation of CARIC and listing as its mailing address 1172 East 57th Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., telephone No. 212–444–4466, the home of PCPJ and May Day activist, Mike Drobenaire.

In January 1973, CARIC cofounders Tim Butz of Washington, D.C., and Gary Thomas, then of 4050 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104, attended the national steering committee of VVAW in Chicago. There Thomas, joined by a Steve Huck of 618½ East Lincoln Highway. DeKalb, Ill., and another CARIC initiator, Barton Osborn, were empowered to form an ad hoc committee to coordinate a VVAW investigation into the intelligence community.

An internal VVAW report on the committee reads in part:

> Several Congressmen have expressed tremendous interest and support of this investigation and already at least one CIA operation has ceased due to the congressional pressure exerted when some people found out what was happening in this operation.

It went on:

> Besides witnesses, we need any physical proof we can obtain, such as uniforms, patches for uniforms, documents, etc. One item mentioned specifically is known as DICOM (defense intelligence collection manual) which lists the illegalities of intelligence collection as practiced by the United States. Any photos, or weapons or drugs used for intelligence collection would be very valuable.

And then the quote follows on:

On protection of witnesses we made several observations:

1. The government wants to avoid publicity at all costs and a political exposure is a sure way to gain maximum media coverage;

2. in the past, several ex-agents have testified and the government ignored or denied their actions and they were not harassed;

3. we have congressional support and congressional immunity;

4. we can obtain lawyers for free and enter all witnesses into a client-lawyer relationship for further protection;

5. because of the people we have already gotten commitment from to testify, the more the government tries to do to intimidate or discredit our work, the credibility it will lend to us will increase;

6. even our government doesn't have enough staff to fight on many fronts at once and they are under unprecedented attack at this time. Every one who participates will have high enough visibility that the government will not be able to just "disappear" the witness.

If a pig does try to question anyone, don't admit anything and don't even deny anything. Just tell them to contact your lawyers or us and we'll arrange lawyers. Don't worry about the oaths or debriefing we all had about never talking to anyone about anything.

Senator THURMOND. Congressman McDonald, speaking about VVAW, can you tell us who started this group?

Mr. MCDONALD. There is ample evidence that the VVAW was organized and for many years of its existence dominated by the Communist Party, U.S.A. In 1973, the Communist Party, U.S.A. lost control and the organization was taken over by the Maoist Revolutionary Union, or RU, now known as the Revolutionary Communist Party (RC). VVAW as an active group has virtually ceased to exist.

Against this background, CARIC became an ongoing project with three prime assistants to Fellwock or Peck:

Timothy Charles Butz, a native of Munroe Falls, Ohio, who claims service in the U.S. Air Force with reconnaissance units in Vietnam and Germany. An SDS activist at Kent State University in 1969–70, Butz became the Washington, D.C. coordinator of VVAW, and has also worked with Project Air War—1322 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.—an antiwar group operated in association with the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC); with Rennie Davis' Mayday apparatus, and with PCPJ. A familiar figure at most anti-administration demonstrations in the Washington area, Butz is often designated as a "security coordinator" for the radical groups involved. He now lives at 1817 Riggs, NW., Washington, D.C.

K. Barton Osborn, who claims to have been an "agent handler" in U.S. Army Intelligence and Security from 1966 to 1969, states that he worked with Operation Phoenix both in Vietnam and in Washington.

Gary Thomas, age 24, claims to have been a former U.A. Army Intelligence Agent and a VVAW activist from Philadelphia. He claimed to be a reporter for United Press International (UPI) in Washington, D.C.

At the end of March 1973, CARIC published its first bulletin, Counter-Spy, to provide each month "a source of analysis and information on the practices, organization, and objectives of U.S. intelligence." Counter-Spy has varied subscription rates, $6 for individuals; $10 for institutions, and $75 for agencies of the Government.

At this stage, Senator, I would like to present a copy of Counter-Spy.

Senator THURMOND. Do you want that available to the committee, or do you want it placed in the record?

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Mr. McDonald. As an exhibit for the committee, Senator.

Senator Thurmond. We'll mark it exhibit 1 for the committee, without objection.

[The document referred to follows:]

[Exhibit 1]

COUNTER-SPY

THE BULLETIN OF:
THE COMMITTEE FOR ACTION/RESEARCH
ON THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY

MARCH, 1973
Vol. 1
No. 1

75¢

FBI Says GOP Hurt Bug Probe

Policeman Led Double Life Posing as an Apache Indian

Viet Reports Were Falsified, CIA Analyst Tells Court

White House Upset at FBI File Access

YOUTH SCREENING BY F.B.I. ALLEGED

Wisconsin Threatens to Quit National Award Program

Rand Corp. Admits Delay in Putting Pentagon Papers in Control System

Court Backs Police Search

Va. Wiretap Bill Clears 1st Hurdle

CIA Analyst Says U.S. Tried To Still Him

By Sanford J. Ungar
Washington Post Staff Writer

HELMS SAYS CIA DIDN'T BUG DNC

Watergate Case Called Broad Plot

By Martin Schram
Newsday

U.S. Spy Plane Downed Over Laos

Watergate Case Spy Expelled by College

China Plans to Release CIA Agent, 2 Pilots From Prison Next Week

Must Order Mean Loss of Our Liberties?

The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) could be a great force for justice, order and decency in this society. It may yet fulfill that mission that Congress established for it.

Does it bother you that you or your child could have unwarranted trouble getting a job because of an LEAA-financed computer while the real molesters and hoodlums

grave importance of racial hostility, racial discrimination, of conflict between high-crime areas populated largely by poor, miserably-educated minority groups and the police, who tend to be white.

"The entry into policing of enterprises like North American Rockwell and Systems Development Corporation is likely to result in the transformation of a horse-and-buggy operation into a sleek

COUNTER-SPY is the official bulletin of the Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community (CARIC) and is a collective effort of the Committee. Each issue will present information and analysis of different aspects of the U.S. Intelligence effort. None of the information presented, no matter how embarrassing to the government, will pose a threat to national security. It has been estimated, by a committee of Congress, that over 90% of the information now classified should not be. Our information comes from publicly available sources. We welcome the comments and suggestions of our readers and supporters and incourage anyone interested in doing similar work to contact us.

CARIC current members: Winslow Peck, K. Barton Osborn, Gary Thomas, Tim Butz

In this issue:

In this first issue we present information indicating that at least once the FBI has used right-wing paramilitary groups to attack the left in this country. The incident in San Diego has been the most significant example of this partnership in terror. We welcome any information on this problem and CARIC is conducting an on-going search for information in this area. Our thanks to the staff of the San Diego *DOOR* for their assistance with this article.

CARIC is also deeply concerned about the recent appointments of L. Patrick Grey as Director of the FBI and of James R. Schlesinger as Director of Central Intelligence. This is the subject of this month's CARIC Commentary.

We also include information on the Winter Soldier Investigation into U.S. Intelligence, a project in cooperation with the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

We are reprinting the Domestic Intelligence section of the FBI's latest annual report. This is the first time the FBI has commented on their massive domestic surveillance effort. We would appreciate the comments of anyone associated with any organization mentioned in this report. The next issue of COUNTER-SPY will analyse this report.

COUNTER-SPY, the official bulletin of the Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community (CARIC) is published monthly. Subscriptions are $6 individual, $10 institutions, and $75 for agencies of the government. Individuals may become sponsors of CARIC for $15 which includes a free subscription to COUNTER-SPY and helps us continue our work. An order form is on the back page. Please inquire about bulk rates. Prisoners and active-duty GI's may recieve free copies. Address all mail to CARIC, Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044.

Mr. McDonald. This first issue of 22 pages was printed in the Daily Rag—in their terms—a left-wing weekly tabloid operating from P.O. Box 21026, Washington, D.C. 20009, telephone No. 202—462–8172. Under the name, Colonial Times, the newspaper was founded in the fall of 1971 with the assistance of the Institute for Policy Studies. The staff included Ray Avrutis, Tom Brannan, Jim Buchanan, Scott Cus-

tin, Lee Garlington, James Green, Bruce Lovelett, Frances Lang, Dorothy McGhee, Tom Munzer, Marie Nahikian, Nancy Nowell, Susan Richard, Laurel Silverman, Tom Trapnell and John Hagerhorst.

As you will see, Counter-Spy carried articles in its first issue on the alleged use by the FBI of right-wing, paramilitary groups in San Diego; a commentary regretting the appointment of James R. Schlesinger to head the Central Intelligence Agency; information on VVAW's investigation into U.S. intelligence operations, and the full text of the FBI Annual Report in the area of internal security.

Counter-Spy also carried a letter from an alleged former military intelligence agent who wrote about the defection to Russia of a U.S. polygraph operator, Edward F. Roher, in 1967, and claimed that the CIA issued instructions that he should be "terminated with extreme prejudice".

In a message concerning its objectives (Counter-Spy, volume 1, No. 1), CARIC stated:

> Tens of thosuands of American citizens from all walks of life were mobilized over the past decade to help bring an end to the government's war in Indochina, a war that has taken new forms under the direction of U.S. intelligence agencies. CARIC hopes that these same concerned citizens will continue to oppose the government's policies and bring an end to this new form of covert war. It is now time for thousands of Americans to mobilize to stop the spying as we stopped the dying.

Reporting on CARIC (April 20, 1973), the Daily Rag noted:

> CARIC was responsible for leaking to the Washington Post last March the information about the Committee for the Re-election of the President hiring a George Washington University student to spy on local anti-war activities. CARIC came by this information from their own investigation of the Watergate break-in, and they say that their sources also indicate that there are at least 24 other people who were similarly hired by the Re-election Committee to conduct espionage activities. CARIC is still in the process of tracking those persons down.

During the ensuing 6 months, CARIC has taken the responsibility for providing the press with details of at least two penetration/surveillance operations mounted by the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department dating back to 1971. On October 7, 1973, following the second CARIC story, the Acting Director of the police department's intelligence division was quoted in the Washington Post as saying that the disclosure campaign was "definitely a threat to our operations."

In this aspect of CARIC's operation, it is noted that on October 7, Fellwock or Peck was quoted in the Washington Post as saying, "We have contacts within the Metropolitan Police Department and other intelligence groups in the city."

A close associate of Fellwock or Peck is a Steve Sacks, age 26, who since at least 1971 developed information for radical groups in the Washington area on police tactics and operations.

Working with the civilian-operated Mayor's Command Post, Sacks has taken part in many predemonstration planning meetings involving the logistics of protecting protestors, and has been able to observe at close range some of the activities of the police intelligence division.

Through these activities, Sacks has claimed to have obtained a recommendation from the director of the Mayor's Command Post which

enabled him to operate in a paid capacity in Miami Beach during the 1972 Democratic and Republican National Conventions.

On his return to Washington, Sacks' counterintelligence activities were formalized through his obtaining paid observer status with the Methodist Church's Board of Social Congress during the American Indian Movement (AIM) occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building and his appointment as a field researcher for the Lemburgh Institute for the Study of Violence.

On April 5, 1973, at a small Washington demonstration protesting the visit of South Vietnam's President Thieu, CARIC distributed leaflets entitled "CIA Assassination Program Continues Under Thieu Reigme." This leaflet provided their version of the Phoenix, (F–6) program and were apparently designed to raise the paranoia level of the anti-Thieu groups.

The CARIC leaflets made use of the ace of spades symbol as, according to the antiwar movement, Operation Phoenix involved death threats and assassination directed at Vietnamese; and some sources claim that intimations of an untimely demise were by the delivery of an ace of spades card to the candidate for "termination with extreme prejudice."

Three months later, the same symbol was used on posters at the time of the Senate confirmation hearing on the appointment of Mr. W. E. Colby as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. On many walls around Capitol Hill, 2′ by 4′ posters appeared headed, "Colby, W. E." A photograph of the Director-designate appeared centered in an ace of spades, under which was captioned:

> Wanted: For crimes in connection with the Phoenix Murder Plan which resulted in the first degree murder and/or torture of 49,565 Vietnamese. He is a self-confessed war criminal. Consider him dangerous, for head of the CIA by Nixon.

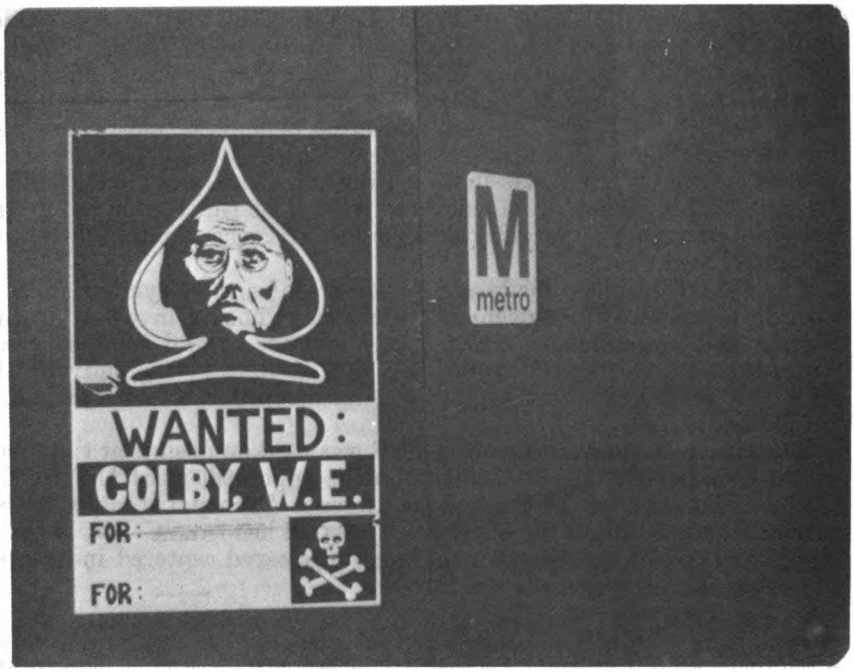
CARIC people boasted that these posters were printed and posted by Fellwock, Butz, and Osborn who were then living at 1112 East Capitol Street in Washington.

As a second exihibit I would like to introduce a photograph of the anti-Colby posters.

Senator THURMOND. This will be accepted as exhibit No. 2.

[The photograph referred to follows:]

[EXHIBIT 2]



Senator THURMOND. Now, Congressman, do you have any information pertaining to CARIC's source of funds at this time?

Mr. McDONALD. Yes; Senator, and again this is the result of CARIC people boasting.

An article by Nat Hentoff, a columnist, author, and leftist intellectual in the Village Voice (p. 23, July 19, 1973) a weekly New York City tabloid resulted in CARIC receiving some $780 in donations and subscriptions. At about the same time some $2,500 was given to CARIC by the David and Ruth Bernstein Foundation of Scarsdale, N.Y.; subsequently this foundation has continued its support, through January 8, 1976.

Senator THURMOND. What is the Bernstein Foundation?

Mr. McDONALD. The Bernstein Foundation, which is also known as the DJB Foundation, operates from 385 Fort Hill Road, Scarsdale, N.Y., and is apparently controlled by Carol Bernstein Ferry and her husband, W. H.—nicknamed "Ping"—Ferry. Over the years they have supported a number of radical causes. They do not report any details of their foundation to the Foundations Library.

Senator THURMOND. Congressman, how did CARIC become the Organizing Committee for Fifth Estate?

Mr. McDONALD. The Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate, or OC–5, according to the First Annual Report of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate, OC–5, a copy of which I now present as an

exhibit, the name change took place in January 1974, although this received little or no publicity until March of 1974.

An article in the Daily Rag of March 28, 1974, stated in part, "that the amalgamation was between CARIC and 'Norman Mailer's Fifth Estate' which he started with mixed fanfare about a year and a half ago."

Senator THURMOND. Just a minute, the First Annual Report of the Organizing Committee of January 1974, is this an exhibit?

Mr. McDONALD. Yes; Senator, I offer that to the subcommitee as an exhibit.

Senator THURMOND. That will be designated as exhibit No. 3.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 3 and will be found in the appendix, p. 27.]

Mr. McDONALD. The article in the Daily Rag of March 28, 1974, stated in part, "that the amalgamation was between CARIC and Norman Mailer's Fifth Estate which he started with mixed fanfare about a year and a half ago." As you well know, Mailer is an author with a vivid imagination, who finds it difficult to separate fact from fiction.

The reason for the merger, which was initiated by Nat Hentoff's article in the Village Voice was, "Norman Mailer decided he didn't have the organizing ability to sustain the Fifth Estate alone. CARIC needed Mailer's fame and resources." (The Daily Rag, March 28, 1974.)

Publicity for the new combination was provided at a March 23, 1974, fundraising wine and cheese party at the home of District of Columbia Gazette editor Sam Smith, attended by some 100 guests, each of whom paid $10 each for the privilege of attending.

Norman Mailer made a rambling 30-minute speech; the OC–5 staffers, Timothy Charles Butz, Perry Fellwock, also known as Winslow Peck, K. Barton Osborn and Douglas Porter spoke of their counterintelligence activities, and the somewhat besotted liberals in attendance poured two bottles of Portuguese wine into a planter in support of African liberation.

At this gathering OC–5 announced some of its future plans.

During 1974 OC–5 planned to hold the so-called in-from-the-cold hearings, postponed from 1973, possible in the early fall. OC–5 stated that:

> The hearings on American intervention abroad, domestic repression in this country and the effects of secrecy on the individual's personality and lifestyle. Testimony from former intelligence workers, scholars, and those who have been victimized by secret operations will be featured.

OC–5 claimed that thirty of these individuals had agreed to testify.

OC–5's second 1974 project was to expand its intelligence documentation center. The IDC, initiated by CARIC, would be incorporated independently of OC–5 as a library and would seek nonprofit tax-exempt status, section 501(c)(3) status, from the Internal Revenue Service. My information is that this status is still pending.

The third and most important 1974 project related to OC–5 as the counterspy campaign, described by its initiators in a leaflet as being:

> Designed to locate, train, and organize those citizens who have the courage and strength to dedicate their lives and their resources to changing the current

direction of our government and nation. We are looking for those individuals with research or organizing abilities to join the Counter-Spy Team. Our hope is to weld Counter-Spies into groups forming a nationwide alternative intelligence community—a Fifth Estate—serving as a force to focus a public effort towards altering the present course our government is now taking towards a techno-fascist society.

Senator THURMOND. Congressman McDonald, did OC–5 have the same staff as CARIC?

Mr. McDONALD. No, sir. There have been some changes. Gary Porter left the organization during 1975, and in 1974, Douglas Ethan Allan Oliver Porter, Jr., became an active member. Barton Osborn became less active and is not now involved in OC–5's day-to-day activities, remaining, however, a member of their advisory board.

Senator THURMOND. Congressman McDonald, who else is on the OC–5 advisory board; could you tell us something about them?

Mr. McDONALD. In the spring/summer, 1975, edition of Counter-Spy, the OC–5 quarterly journal, the OC–5 advisory board is listed as including:

Philip Agee, former CIA case officer.

Fred Branfman, codirector, Indochina Resource Center.

Sylvia Crane, National Committee Against Repressive Legislation.

David Dellinger, Institute for New Communications.

Frank Donner, ACLU political surveillance project.

Robert Katz. Assassination Information Bureau.

Mark Lane, Citizens Commission of Inquiry.

Dr. Ralph Lewis, criminal justice research director, Michigan State University.

Victor Marchetti, former CIA official.

Col. L. Fletcher Prouty (retired), former military liaison to the CIA.

K. Barton Osborn, former MI agent and consultant to the CIA.

Marcus Raskin, codirector, Institute for Policy Studies.

Tony Russo, former Rand Corp. employee.

Kirkpatrick Sale, author.

Stanley Sheinbaum, American Civil Liberties Union.

Reverend Phillip Wheaton, ecumenical program for inter-American communication and action.

Philip Agee, 40, who after 13 years as a CIA agent, has been apparently converted to revolutionary socialism, is the author of a detailed expose of the CIA entitled. "Inside the Company: CIA Diary."

Agee, who made six visits to Cuba during the writing of his book and saw officers from Cuban embassies frequently in Europe, has said, "Quite frankly, I don't care whether they're intelligence officers or not." He hopes "that his disclosures will provide first steps toward abolition of the CIA."

Agee has stated that his book could not have been written without the encouragement of representatives of the Communist Party of Cuba, the resources of the Cuban Government, and information provided by staffers of the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA).

A UPI dispatch from London printed in the press during January 1975, quoted Agee as saying of the CIA, "The purpose is to neutralize these people completely. These people are promoting fascism around the world. Why should I be delicate with them?"

The British Penguin Books edition of Agee's book gives thanks to "John Gerassi, Nicki Zulc, and Michael Locker of the North American Congress for Latin America (NACLA)." The American edition by Stonehill Publishers deletes Locker's name and the reference to the NACLA.

I would like to introduce pages from these books at this time, Senator Thurmond, as exhibits.

Senator THURMOND. They will be accepted as exhibit No. 4.

[The documents referred to were marked exhibit No. 4 and will be found in the appendix, p. 35.]

Mr. McDONALD. The Daily World, the official organ of the Communist Party U.S.A. carried front-page stories of Agee's list of alleged CIA agents in Portugal. The Agee story had been released by OC-5. These appeared in the issues of August 8 and 12, 1975.

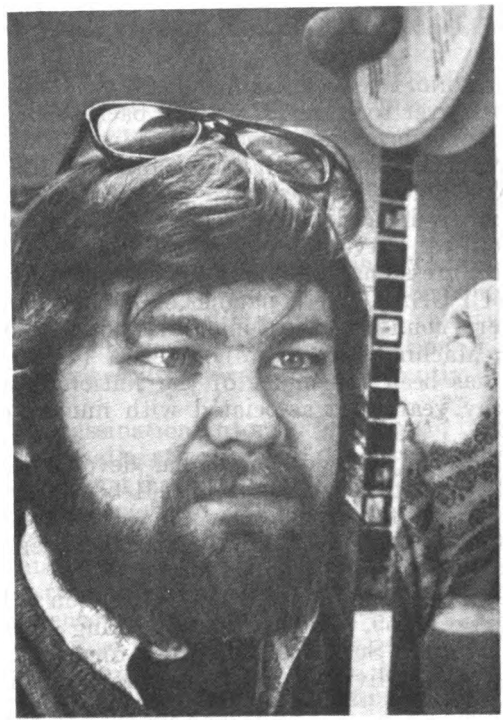
The January 26, 1976, issue of Time Magazine carried pictures of Butz and Agee. I would like to ask that these pictures be made part of the record as exhibits.

Senator THURMOND. They will be received as exhibit No. 5.

[The photographs referred to follow:]

[EXHIBIT 5]

COUNTER-SPY'S TIM BUTZ



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FORMER CIA AGENT PHILIP AGEE

Senator THURMOND. I believe from your statement on page 11, where you just stopped, over to page 14, getting back to the Fifth Estate, there seems to be information about individuals that could just be put in the record, if that meets with your approval.

Mr. McDONALD. Very good, Senator.

Frank J. Donner, in addition to his present position as head of the ACLU's political surveillance project, has been identified three times in sworn congressional testimony as a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA). A law partner of Arthur Kinoy in the late 1950's, then general counsel of the Communist-dominated United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America (UE) until the late 1960's, Donner has been a member of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) for many years and associated with numerous Communist fronts.

Since the late 1950's, Frank Donner has devoted a great deal of energy to countersecurity activities. His 1961 book, "The Un-Americans," served to create major publicity for the CPUSA's Operation Abolition attack on the House Committee on Un-American Activities and later the House Internal Security Committee.

The HCUA report, "Communist Legal Subversion: The Role of the Communist Lawyer, 1959," noted that "Speaking on such topics as 'Informers as a Means of Suppression,' and 'Informers as Tools,' Donner has excoriated all individuals who have been of assistance to congressional committees."

During more recent years, Donner has been provided with such mass media forums as the New York Review of Books, the Nation, and Civil Liberties, the publication of the ACLU, to advocate the dismantling of the U.S. intelligence community.

Dr. Ralph Lewis, a sociologist holding a doctor of education degree, has a key role in the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration-funded programs at Michigan State University where he is criminal justice research director. A former assistant director of the Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence, Lewis has worked with police departments in Portland, Oreg.; Miami, Fla.; and Boston, Mass.; in the area of civil disorder.

Currently teaching a course entitled "Project Planning and Evaluation," [MSU program 833], Dr. Lewis' association with OC–5, while in on way covert, has a most dangerous potential for police departments who look to LEAA for funding assistance in their intelligence programs.

Frederick Robert Branfman, 33, was active with the International Voluntary Service in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Upon his return to the United States in 1971, Branfman immediately took a leadership role in the ranks of the so-called antiwar propagandists supporting the North Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian Communist insurgents. On May 4, in Washington, D.C., Branfman joined with Arthur Kinoy, David Dellinger, and other leaders of the revolutionary National Interim Committee for a Mass Party of the People for a Lafayette Park "celebration" to honor the bloodstained Communist victory in Vietnam.

Sylvia E. Crane was one of the founders and is currently a national officer of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, formerly the National Committee To Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee/House Internal Security Committee. Under its original name, this organization was cited, after extensive investigation, as a Communist front. The organization is still headed by identified Communist Frank Wilkinson.

David Dellinger, who described himself as a "Communist, although not of the Soviet variety," has however clearly demonstrated his support of the Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Cuban varieties of Marxism-Leninism. His Institute for New Communications is the publisher of a new radical newsweekly, Seven Days, currently in the "preview" edition stages.

Robert Katz' Assassination Information Bureau is one of the many groups investigating allegations of conspiratorial theories behind several murders of political figures, including that of President Kennedy.

Mark Lane, an attorney and activist since the early 1950's with the National Lawyers Guild, has been involved in defense work with the American Indian movement in the Wounded Knee cases.

Victor Marchetti, coauthor with John Marks, a former State Department intelligence analyst, of "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence," has been active in a number of antiintelligence seminars and meetings. On April 5, 1975, Marchetti and Marks were slated to appear at a Yale Law School "inquiry" into the CIA featuring Mrs. Hortensia Bussi de Allende. Others involved with the seminar were identified CPUSA members Frank Donner and Ernest De Maio; and

such activists as Fred Branfman; Kirkpatrick Sale; Daniel Ellsberg; and Leonard Boudin, general counsel of the CPUSA front, the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

L. Fletcher Prouty, 57, was recently reported by columnist Mary McGrory to be a public relations executive with Amtrack. Retired from the Air Force in 1963, Prouty has another hat to wear in addition to his OC-5 advisory board role—that of Washington, D.C., editor of Genesis, the "magazine for men." Spread over many pages of that pornographic publication was Prouty's April issue article, "Curbing the CIA," no doubt to lend some semblance of social significance to the magazine.

Kenneth Barton "Bart" Osborn was one of the founding members of the organizing committee for the Fifth Estate.

Marcus Raskin's Institute for Policy Studies was accurately characterized by Paul Dickson in "Think Tanks" as attempting to lay the groundwork for the new society that will replace the present one. It not only has dedicated itself to ushering in the new society by inquiry and experimentation but is also doing what it can to hasten the demise of the present one. Raskin, long a disarmament advocate, was the founder of the New Party in 1968, now called the People's Party, a self-stated Socialist organization. For the past 15 years, Raskin has consistently supported the total dismantling of the Armed Forces; disarmament of not only the Armed Forces, but of police and civilians; and an end to U.S. opposition to foreign guerrilla insurgencies.

Anthony J. "Tony" Russo, Jr., a former defendant in the Pentagon Papers case, testified on behalf of Karleton Armstrong, an admitted member of the New Left terrorist New Year's Gang which killed a graduate student August 24, 1970, in the bombing of the Army Mathematics Research Center on the University of Wisconsin campus at Madison. The New York Times reported Mr. Russo's "mitigation of sentence" testimony for Karl Armstrong as follows:

> In his testimony, Mr. Russo said that after one trip back to the United States from Vietnam in 1968, when he was employed by the Rand Corp., a "think tank" with government research contracts, I brought a grenade back.
>
> I was angry, very angry, he said over the continuing escalation of the war. I walked down the halls of Rand to the computer room and wanted to toss it in there. I thought I had to do this for mankind. He said that he finally threw the grenade off a pier at Santa Monica, Calif.
>
> Mr. Russo was also quoted as saying that he didn't have the strength to use the grenade; however, Had I been younger I would have done it.

Kirkpatrick Sale, author of the revealing radical history of the Students for a Democratic Society, entitled SDS, according to the Daily World was involved with the anti-CIA conference on April 5 at Yale Law School which featured Mrs. Hortensia Allende, widow of the deposed Marxist President of Chile and a vice president of the internationally active Soviet front, the Women's International Democratic Federation.

Rev. Philip Wheaton of the National Council of Churches—funded Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communications and Action—EPICA—is active with the Common Front for Latin America—COFFLA—an organization which shares his 1500 Farragut Street NW., Washington, D.C. 10011 office address. COFFLA sponsored the local appearance of the Quilapayun folk music group, the cultural group of the Young Communist League of Chile.

During the summer of 1975, OC–5, self-characterized as "dedicated to spying on Big Brother, the American intelligence community" suggested to its supporters that a series of actions should be planned and implemented. These included:

Campus demonstrations against CIA and National Security Agency (NSA) recruiters.

Organizing local coalitions to monitor police budgets, commenting, "the abolition of police political intelligence is one area these groups can unite upon."

Demonstrations "and other activities" at local CIA offices.

The CIA maintains offices in over twenty cities. * * * Many of these main offices have branch offices in smaller communities and neighborhoods. The telephone numbers are usually listed in directories and a friend at the telephone company can get you the exact address. Predominantly the cover used is that of a law office.

Visits to Congress, State and local legislatures to "express your viewpoint on abuses of power by the intelligence and security communities."

Requesting under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act individual files from some 24 Federal agencies [a sample letter is provided in the current Counter-Spy (vol. 2, No. 3)] which are listed in the publication, Counter-Spy.

Agitating within labor unions against the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), the African-American Labor Center, and the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI), alleged to be receiving CIA support in struggles against Communist domination of labor unions.

Organizing, in cooperation with the CPUSA-dominated National Coordinating Committee in Solidarity with Chile (NCCSC), demonstrations against the CIA and transnational corporations, probably on September 11, 1975, in Washington, D.C., San Francisco and Chicago.

Developing a national organization to monitor potential "dirty tricks" during the 1976 primary elections and the fall national elections.

The Organizing Committee for the Fifth Estate has also announced that it is coordinating a "nationwide teachin movement on national security," and that it is preparing an educational package in conjunction with other groups.

Senator THURMOND. You mentioned Fifth Estate Security Education. Now, at that point, I believe your exhibit 6 comes in there, regarding Fifth Estate Security Education.

Mr. McDONALD. Yes; there is a listing of groups, and perhaps we can present those as an exhibit for the subcommitee, Senator.

Senator THURMOND. That will be marked and received as exhibit No. 6 by the subcommittee.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 6 and will be found in the appendix, p. 37.]

Senator THURMOND. Now, that will take us down to the bottom of page 15.

Now, Congressman McDonald, has OC–5 developed other organizations as part of its overall operations?

Mr. McDONALD. OC–5, Senator, has acquired a number of aliases which they term "projects." These include the Intelligence Documentation Center (IDC), the Labor Education Project (LEP), The Ter-

rorist Information Project (TIP), the Fifth Estate Security Informaton Project (FESIP), and more recently, the Public Education Project on the Intelligence Community (PEPIC).

PEPIC, which has the same address as OC–5, emerged in the fall of 1975, sponsored by the Youth Project, Inc., 1000 Wisconsin Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C., telephone 202–338–5721, as "a year-long effort designed to create informed public discussion" on the intelligence community.

A PEPIC flyer, distributed during December 1975, states:

> In order to bring issues related to the intelligence gathering agencies into the public arena and to create a climate conducive to legislative change during this year of congressional investigations, a nationwide teachin effort has been growing on campuses throughout the country.

PEPIC continues as follows:

> Programs focusing on such inter-related topics as multinational corporations and their relationship to the American economy, political assassinations both foreign and domestic, police repression including the growing utilization of S.W.A.T. teams, the continued subversion of activist organizations, and the invasion of individual privacy via surveillance and computer technology have been presented on campuses in Los Angeles, Berkeley, San Francisco, Ann Arbor, Virginia, and Washington, D.C. The series will continue through the 1976 academic year and build toward the coming presidential elections.

Among its activties, PEPIC offers to provide "individual speakers" or "seminars of several days" in which three or more antiintelligence speakers are provided for campus lectures and workshops. Touted as the "foremost experts on the intelligence community", available for antisurveillance techins, the speakers are included as follows.

Senator, I will at this time pause to point out that among those are Timothy Butz, Frank Donner, Morton Halperin, and Victor Marchetti.

I would like to mark this particular list as an exhibit.

Senator THURMOND. That is exhibit No. 7 and that will be received by the subcommittee.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 7 and will be found in the appendix, p. 38.]

Mr. McDONALD. On December 24, 1975, Liberation News Service (LNS) published in its Radical Media Bulletin Board section an announcement for the OC–5:

> The Intelligence Documentation Center (ID), a non-profit research library, is looking for interns for this spring. If you would like to apply, write for the intern brochure. The interns do research on the intelligence community. Scholarships are available. January 1, 1976, is the deadline for all applications.

Senator, I would like to present that brochure at this time, and ask it be marked as an exhibit.

Senator THURMOND. That will be exhibit No. 8 and will be received by the subcommittee.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 8 and will be found in the appendix, p. 39.]

Mr. McDONALD. The Communist Party, U.S.A., newspaper, Daily World, January 10, 1976, reports still another OC–5 staffer as Harvey Kahn.

OC–5 and IDC finances remain a subject of interest. While the OC–5 has made claims of having "open" books and files, the group does not

specify which "New York foundation has directly funded them. It is of interest that the Youth Project, which is funding PEPIC, receives considerable income from the Field Foundation which also finances the National Lawyers Guild, the American Civil Liberties Union, and other radical projects.

Despite the claim to tax exemption, neither the OC–5 nor the IDC appear on the current published list of tax-exempt organizations of the Internal Revenue Service.

Senator THURMOND. Now, Congressman McDonald, what is the most recent activity which OC–5 has engaged in?

Mr. McDONALD. The publication last month, February, of Counter-Spy (vol. 2, No. 4), brings into sharp focus the activities of OC–5. At this time I would like to introduce a copy of Counter-Spy as an exhibit.

Senator THURMOND. That will be marked as exhibit No. 9 and received by the subcommittee.

[The document referred to follows:]

[EXHIBIT 9]

More CIA Around the World **NCLC:** Brownshirts of the Seventies

The Great Africa War: Blood test of U.S. Foreign Policy

Winter, 1976 **Vol. 2, Issue 4** **$1.50**

COUNTERSpy

The Quarterly Journal of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate

CounterSpy presents its first Letters to the Editor column. We have received some 500 letters in the past month. A cross-section of them appear below. We'd also like to express our thanks to all of you who wrote. We appreciate the criticism as well as the support. We encourage you to get out your pen and paper and tell us what you think about CounterSpy, the CIA, your local SWAT team, or any other national security issue.

I just wanted to drop you a note of support on your statement and my expression of solidarity with you.

It is quite amazing to watch so-called critics of the CIA show their colors at a time like this. I would like to take the liberty of pointing out that I don't think it is quite accurate to ascribe the outcry against you to "reactionary elements of the Press" or to "rightest cowards" alone. Certainly they are in the forefront, but what seems to be even more important really is the facile way in which some liberal journalists and the liberal establishment in general is so willing to go along. Even the Laurence Stern article which you enclosed falls far short of what he might have said in a news analysis article.

In general I think your statement is excellent and makes all the important points of your (our) position extremely well. Part of what Stern's article does is to try to take some of the blame off you by calling you "an obscure left-wing group" and saying that you have scruffy offices. You may be obscure and unimportant to him but not to us and to me. With love from us all.

Dick Goldensohn
Sevendays Magazine

The preposterous charge that you are responsible for the death of an American official shows how afraid the CIA is of the growing consciousness that plain citizens *can do something* about the rat-hole world of government-sponsored secret societies. The person who can only watch passively at the worst excesses of his age is no citizen in any traditional sense, for he has no part in the most important decisions determining the policies and the moral character of government.

Hopefully the public will be able to understand the insidious stage-managing of the news by intelligence organizations.

You are showing the way. Keep it up.

John
Stanford, CA

We work on a farm, homesteading. *Any* contribution has been to difficult to come by. But now we'll forsake next Spring's replacement plow-points so that Fifth Estate can expose just what ex-agent Welch has been doing to Third World people for a living.

Please stick it out, for all of us.

Stanardsville, VA

muckrake *(Webster's Third New International Dictionary):*

"to search out and charge with and seek to expose publicly real or apparent misconduct or vice or corruption on the part of prominent individuals (as public officials)"

"to investigate or go over assiduously with the purpose of digging up scandal or incriminating"

"obs. rake for gathering dung in a heap"

I'm proud to know people in the tradition of Lincoln Steffens, Upton Sinclair and Ida Tarbell.

S.R.
Washington, DC

Warning to Harvey Kahn, Doug Porter, and TRAITORS ET AL !!!

You bastards better clear out of our country! We, veterans will not tolerate degenerates who help murder our Americans who serve to protect the security of our country.

You have the list of our security agents. We have the list of you traitors. We will make it our business to get rid of you. Dirty bastards!!! You don't belong in our country. You belong in Moscow with the KGB. Traitors you'll die.

Several of us veterans, Vietnam and World War II have met and voted not to allow you spies for a foreign country and traitors to our own to exist. Get out of the country or die!!!

Don't expect the C.I.A. and F.B.I. to protect you. You dogs!!!
P.S. Better be physically prepared. We will make sure to waste you!! Call the F.B.I. to protect you. You scum. You'll never have the nerve to ask an American to protect a foreign spy. Dogs!!!!

Anonymous

On January 8, we sent you a contribution of $2,000. A note should have accompanied the check, but we neglected to write it, so here it is now.

We are very glad to send along this check, as we have been glad to support you over the past few years. It seems to both of us that you have been responsible and effective in your efforts to bring to public view the excesses of our country's secret "intelligence" mechanisms as well as the unpleasant fact that secrecy itself has become the accepted framework for our government's dealings with us.

Although we have never sought publicity for support we have given to any organization, we would like to suggest that in the present situation it might be a good idea for you to make a public statement about where your funds come from. We would be willing to be listed among your supporters, and we would have no objection to having the amount of our help listed as well.

Since people who live in an ambiance of conspiracy seem to find it hard to imagine a simple, disinterested act, members of the CIA are presumably trying to figure out if your support comes from a "foreign source," "subversive elements," or whatnot.

It might be educational for them to find that your backers are citizens who adhere to American traditions of openness in government, honesty in international dealings, and an informed electorate. We count ourselves and you among that number.

Carol Bernstein Ferry
W. H. Ferry
Scarsdale, NY

The ferocity of the attacks and the low-level ilk making them, proves the strength and the righteousness of your work. In solidarity with our sisters and brothers, we remain.

The Wounded Knee Legal
Defense/Offense Committee
Rapid City, Lakota Nation

Con't. on inside back cover

Mr. McDonald. In addition to its continuing attacks on the CIA, which in this issue includes the naming of some 64 alleged agents operating under diplomatic cover abroad, and several exposé stories on police counterinsurgency plans, on the rightwing Posse Comitatus movement, and on the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), Counter-Spy provides some more information on its own operation.

The current issue lists as members of the editorial board Julie Brooks, Tim Butz, Eda Gordon, Harvey Kahn, Winslow Peck, Doug Porter, and Margaret Van Houten.

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The Counter-Spy masthead page also contains a note of special thanks to the following: Liz Anderson, Chip Berlet, Christine Bond, Robert Borosage, Minton Brooks, Frank Browning, John Burgess, Carol Bernstein Ferry, W. H. Ferry, Morton Halperin, Anne Hess, Dana Johnson, Kathy Johnson, Daniel Morris, Janet Raffel, Selma Rein, Ron Ridenhour, Beth Stone, Jim True, Georgia Van Houten, Bill Wallace, and Dale Wiehoff.

It is noted that the list includes several members of the National Lawyers Guild and the Center for National Security Studies; the Ferrys, who provided $2,000 to OC–5, so that the issue could be published; Kathy Johnson of the NLG, National Lawyers Guild, and the Peoples Bicentennial Commission; Ron Ridenhour who is a former member of a Communist Party, U.S.A. youth club and the New American Movement more recently with Skeptic, and identified CPUSA member Selma Rein, whose husband, David, is the senior partner to the OC–5's lawyer, Alan Dranitzke.

Other OC–5 activities in recent weeks have included public appearances by Tim Butz and Perry Fellwock—also known as Winslow Peck. On February 10, 1976, a joint fundraiser was held by the Washington, D.C. chapter of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) and the OC–5. Speakers at the film showing included Tim Butz and Joseph Forer, "a founding member of the National Lawyers Guild." Forer, the law partner of David Rein and Alan Dranitzke, has served as cocounsel for the Communist Party, U.S.A. with Communist Party U.S.A. General Counsel John Abt.

Members of the OC–5 apparat attended the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee's National Hard Times Conference in Chicago, January 30 to February 1, 1976, where they took a leadership role in the antirepression workshop. Material distributed by OC–5 at the hard times conference included brochures on their youth project-funded public education project on the intelligence community (PEPIC), also known as "operation truth and light," and a catalog of the audio and video tapes made at their November 2 to 4, 1975, Ann Arbor teachin.

Mr. Chairman, I offer these and other OC–5 documents as exhibits at this time.

Senator THURMOND. That will be exhibit No. 10 I believe, and will be received by the subcommittee.

[The documents referred to were marked exhibit No. 10 and will be found in the appendix, p. 41.]

Mr. McDONALD. The hard times conference, Mr. Chairman, was organized by the Prairie Fire Organization, which is the aboveground component of the Weather Underground organization.

The new Counter-Spy shows an additional "old left" influence in a short article by Paul Jacobs, a San Francisco-based writer and former Peace and Freedom Party activist who identified himself in sworn court testimony in 1964 as a former member of the Communist Party U.S.A.

Jacobs compares the murder of CIA agent Richard Welch with the murder of a Black Panther in Los Angeles by members of the U.S. Organization headed by Ron Karenga. Of the Panther, Jacobs writes, "With his murder, the Panthers lost, the black community lost—

the whole country lost"; and claims that he was a "victim of truly sinister government activity, who goes unhonored."

Of Welch, Jacobs writes:

But for Richard Welch, the CIA agent, I cannot mourn. After all, no one has to work for the CIA or FBI. It seems inevitable that the CIA's political murders should be followed by reprisals against its agents. It should come as no real surprise, nor cause for grief, when a CIA agent gets killed in the line of "duty." When you work for the CIA you make enemies. And when you make enemies you may get killed—it is as simple as that.

From OC-5's distributed materials, it is noted that their operation truth and light—PEPIC—is sharing office space and telephones with the District of Columbia chapter of the National Lawyers Guild at 1611 Connecticut Avenue NW., fourth floor, Washington, D.C. 20009, telephone Nos. 202-483-0380 and 483-0382.

Senator THURMOND. Congressman McDonald, have you reported the activities of OC-5 to any law enforcement agencies?

Mr. McDONALD. Yes; Senator, on February 20, 1975, I advised my colleagues in the Extension of Remarks section of the Congressional Record (E 585) of their existence and some of the activities of OC-5. This included the statement by Douglas Porter that OC-5 offices contined "not only books but files—press clippings, debriefings we have done, Government reports, corporate reports, and stolen documents."

This information was sent, with supporting documentation, to the FBI, and I offer the correspondence as exhibits.

Senator THURMOND. That will be designated as exhibit No. 11 and will be received by the subcommittee.

[The documents referred to were marked exhibit No. 11 and will be found in the appendix, p. 55.]

Senator THURMOND. Do you have anything further you wish to add?

Mr. McDONALD. Yes; Senator, just a minute.

One last item, Senator, appeared in the Washington Post, that is of some interest in bringing some of the activities up to date, is the OC-5 claim that some of their members have been of benefit in the congressional committees investigating the CIA, and quoting that particular claim in the January 19, 1976, Washington Post, is as follows:

They are a darned good organization, their information has been accurate without exception, said an administrative aide for a Congressman on the House Select Intelligence Committee.

I submit that at this time as an exhibit.

Senator THURMOND. That will be designated as exhibit No. 12 and received by the committee.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 12 and may be found in the files of the subcomittee.]

Senator THURMOND. Is there anything further that you have?

Mr. McDONALD. No; Mr. Chairman.

Senator THURMOND. Congressman McDonald, I want to express my appreciation to you for appearing before the subcommittee. I am sure you made a fine contribution and have been of great help to the subcommittee. Thank you, very much.

The subcommittee, if there is nothing else to come before it, stands adjourned until the call of the chairman.

[Whereupon, at 4.45 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]

APPENDIX

[EXHIBIT 3]

(Referred to on p. 13 of the hearing.)

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT, THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR A FIFTH ESTATE, JANUARY 1974

(Formerly Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community.)

1973 will be remembered as the year that brought to light "White House Horrors" and open political compromise of the American Intelligence Community and Criminal Justice System. It was also the beginning year of the first organized effort to focus public effort to restrain further development of technofascism—the societal form described by George Orwell in his prophetic novel "1984."

In February 1973, three people in Washington, D.C. began to implement their ideas of a Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community (CARIC). Simultaneously, a New York based organization, the Fifth Estate, began cross country travel to organize a communications network among individuals concerned with the role of the Intelligence Community in a democratic society.

In January 1974, CARIC and the Fifth Estate formed an umbrella organization to further the common goals of both groups. The new organization, The Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate, was created to develop ideas and programs to create a Fifth Estate of campus and community based research/action groups decentralized but united to investigate United States Intelligence and secret government operations and to resist technofascism.

We will do this through research, educational activities, litigation and campaigns to focus the effort of the American Public. Our philosophy is as follows:

STOP THE SPYING

Only a full and undisguised look into the hidden world of secret government operations can displace unwarranted fears of reaction by Big Brother and guide the public effort to end illegal and unjustified spying.

END CLANDESTINE INTERVENTION

History shows that clandestine intervention by our government into the sovereign affairs of other countries has only created an image for us as "Ugly Americans" and has not improved our national security. Before the foreign clandestine operations of the CIA and other agencies involve us in another national catastrophy, such as the Bay of Pigs or the Indochina War, these operations must be exposed, restrained, terminated and prevented from reoccuring in the future.

END DOMESTIC REPRESSION

History also demonstrates that our government's foreign policies and practices often come home to become domestic policies and practices. Individuals and agencies long accustomed to clandestine espionage on a global scale will implement similar activities here at home if the political atmosphere allows them to do so. The repressive activities of the intelligence community must be fully exposed and terminated by the American people.

END EXCESSIVE SECRECY

Foreign and domestic espionage operates in a world of secrecy. This atmosphere of government secrecy is what will surely usher in technofascism. An atmosphere of government openness and citizen access must be created in America if we are to maintain our status as free citizens in a democratic society.

END TECHNOLOGICAL HEGEMONY

There must be greater citizen's access to advanced technology if that technology is to be used for the benefit of all humanity instead of being used to rain destruction on smaller nations and to fill dossiers on our families, friends, and neighbors.

CARIC ACTIVITIES—CALENDAR YEAR 1973

The first year for CARIC was a year of experimentation to develop the analysis and organizing vehicles necessary to accomplish the goal of preventing the further development of technofascism. CARIC first came to public attention in March, 1973, when CARIC members turned over the results of an independent investigation of the connections between the George Washington University College Republicans and the Committee to Re-Elect the President's spy network.

CARIC's investigation showed that Ted Brill, the President of the GWU College Republicans, had been a paid agent of CREEP under the direction of CREEP's Youth Director Kenneth Rietz. Brill was assigned to spy on the pacifist vigil outside the White House and once attempted to arrange the arrest of the other participants on drug charges.

As a result of CARIC's work, Mr. Brill was exposed in a front page story of the March 10, 1973 Washington Post. Since Mr. Brill's salary was never reported by CREEP officials, the Sepcial Grand Jury has been presented with evidence that could lead to further indictments of CREEP officers.

In April 1973, CARIC consulted with the British corporation, Granada Television, Inc., on the production of two films, one on Watergate and the other on the status of political prisoners in South Vietnam. Both were broadcast on "World In Action," the most widely viewed documentary news program in the United Kingdom. The program on political prisoners, "A Question of Torture," has now been released as a film and is available from the Intelligence Documentation Center.

President Nixon nominated William Egan Colby to serve as Director of Central Intelligence in mid-May, 1973. CARIC responded to Colby's nomination by preparing a Fact Sheet on Colby and publicly denounced him as "the most henious architect of mass murder since Adolph Eichman" for his (Colby's) role in the Phoenix assassination program in South Vietnam.

When Colby's nomination came before the Senate Armed Forces Committee, CARIC convinced the Armed Services Committee to hear opposition witnesses. The hearings, unprecedented for such an official, heard seven opposition witnesses, including Bart Osborn and David Harrington on behalf of CARIC.

In October, 1973 CARIC's investigations of the District of Columbia police resulted in the uncovering of a female agent provocateur named Ann Kolego. Ms. Kolego used the cover of "Crazy Anne" to infiltrate both D.C. and national anti-war organizations between 1970 and 1973.

The exposing of Ms. Kolego preceeded the voluntary uncovering of Mr. Robert Merrit, another informant for the FBI and District of Columbia Police Department. Within eight days of the Kolego uncovering, D.C. police Captain George Sutter, acting director of the Intelligence Division, told the Washington Post that his entire intelligence gathering network had been paralyzed by the incidents.

Throughout the summer and fall of 1973, CARIC worked with Jim Dubro and Bill McAdams of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on a documentary special entitled "The Fifth Estate." The film was shown by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on January 9, 1974. The film immediately sparked a debate in Canadian Parliament on the role of the U.S. Intelligence Community in Canada and for its revelation of secret Canadian Intelligence operations and organizations.

While the work concerning Ted Brill, William Colby, and Ann Kolego were highlights of CARIC's year, most time was spent on the routine tasks of compiling files for a data base, liaison with individuals and organizations and dis-

cussions on future directions and activities. During the year CARIC consulted with all the major television networks as well as journalists from major newspapers and wire services, such as the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Washington Post, Washington Star-News, New York Times, and United Press International. Our effort resulted in several magazine articles on intelligence in publications such as The New Republic. CARIC also produced information and analysis which were distributed by major radio networks and the alternative press.

During the year CARIC also provided litigation assistance to cases we believed to be in accordance with our goals and philosophy. Memorandums on the FBI intelligence programs, analysis of domestic intelligence operations, and background investigations of informants were prepared for several political cases. Among these cases were *U.S.* v. *Briggs et al.* (The Gainesville Eight), *Socialist Workers Party et al.* v. *the Attorney General et al.*, *Higgs et al.* v. *Colby et al.*, and *U.S.* v. *Armstrong.*

During the year CARIC also published three issues of a bulletin "Counter-Spy" and seven issues of a newsletter "Intelligence Report." These publications examined such issues as the FBI's use of right-wing paramilitary groups in Southern California, the CIA assassination program in South Vietnam, the American Intelligence Community's private war with Nordom Sihanouk, the U.S. involvement in the Chilean coup, and the efforts by the FBI to neutralize the New Left in this country.

For CARIC, 1973 has been a year of experimentation which produced the analysis and organizing vehicles necessary to further the accomplishment of our goals.

INTELLIGENCE DOCUMENTATION CENTER—CALENDAR YEAR 1973

The Intelligence Documentation Center was established to provide a research center and library on American intelligence. Information held in the IDC is available to journalists, researchers, scholars, and any concerned citizen investigating American intelligence.

The IDC is currently located in Room 523A of the Dupont Circle Building in Washington, D.C. One full-time staff person supervises a team of volunteers who continually collect, catalog and store information on intelligence. The majority of the information in the IDC's files is from government publications, national and international news services, past investigative efforts, and first hand interviews with former intelligence workers.

Aside from answering queries from journalists and researchers, the IDC has been called upon to provide information to members and committees of Congress. While the IDC does not support or lobby for specific legislation, its staff does assist Congressional aides and elected representatives with information upon request.

Starting with no books or records in February 1973, the IDC has now eclipsed the Library of Congress' section on Intelligence. The IDC now contains over 400 volumes of material and over 500 active files.

THE FIFTH ESTATE—CALENDAR YEAR 1973

The primary activity of the Fifth Estate in calendar year 1973 was to send author Norman Mailer on a speaking tour of the nation's campuses. During this tour the Fifth Estate made contact with approximately 150 student organizers interested in developing the Fifth Estate. The following is excerpted from a news letter sent by the Fifth Estate to those contacts.

"In the course of twenty lectures at different colleges and universities in the month of October, I began to talk seriously about the Fifth Estate at perhaps the last ten schools. If you attended these lectures, remember, I tried to emphasize the difficulties, and did my best to put down any interest which would be superficial since I felt the very notion of a Fifth Estate had sinister extensions. To attempt to proselytize too quickly, to build a campus movement without proper preparation, to whip up a quick interest which one could not fulfill because of lack of organizational ground, all seemed to me good and sufficient reasons to point out the difficulties rather than the advantages of a Fifth Estate.

I confess I was also curious to see what kind of response there would be if it was presented against the grain, presented against all the criticism offered by all of you and myself as well. The returns were interesting. About 150 people wanted to receive the newsletter, which is an average of 15 people to a campus, not bad. Particularly, if these 15 people on each campus represent what I have in mind,

which is a cadre ready to develop skills and not altogether isolated from that most difficult of modern notions, a sense of fealty to a group engaged in politically unique activity whose demands eventually could be far-reaching. You will also remember that my notion of a Fifth Estate was that it should be various. I thought it ought to have groups and cadres of all sorts, take on different coloration at each campus, each of the campus cadres in fact to be autonomous, accepting guidance if they desired it from a parent or umbrella organization, and yet still capable of functioning on their own. It seemed to me that if the idea worked we might be able to call eventually upon skills so varied as high technological competence with computers, able even to track down some of the more hidden if massive economic movements of the last twenty years through student and faculty economists in order to determine whether the Invisible Government, for example, is working in massive ways on its own clandestine funds. This of course is just one example of a highly developed technological activity we might eventually be able to set up as a campus project.

But I foresee other types of action altogether different, including campus groups of CIA scenario interpreters, a modern society, if you will, of Baker Street irregulars who might hardly do much more than sit around and discuss some of the various theories and possible crimes of our recent history and the relation of the Invisible Government to these capers.

What I was looking for was an idea sufficiently wide to attract every kind of talent on campus which was concerned with these questions, and yet be a movement which was good enough, and incisive enough to keep and develop one's loyalties.

When the tour was over, I felt the idea had life and would work. I felt a political vacuum was there to be filled. I also felt there was one near-to-insuperable problem. Between the conception of such a movement and that point where it might begin to function purposefully after a year or two of development, there seemed nothing at the center but myself, and I knew that that could not work well since I was obliged on the one hand to earn a living and could not begin to give real and full time to such a project, and on the other hand had the gravest questions about my own talents as an organizer. If we think of the idea as a ship, we can continue this newly minted metaphor by saying that if we were ready to sail, we were nonetheless beached on the unmitigable rock of my own special local incompetence in organizational matters.

The exciting news I promised therefore is that I think a few of us have discovered a way to get around this difficulty. There's been an organization in the field for the last two years called CARIC. (The Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community.) I met with the three organizers of CARIC, Winslow Peck, Bart Osborn and Tim Butz, while spending time this summer in Washington on Watergate, had conversations with them, and further conversations in late November during the Georgetown Seminar of the Committee to Investigate Assassinations, and now thought on the basis of studying their literature and their possibilities that the time had come to pool our resources. This was also agreeable to CARIC, and the unification of forces has begun.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Norman Mailer announced today that his New York group, The Fifth Estate, was uniting with the Washington, D.C. based Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community (CARIC). The alliance of CARIC and the Fifth Estate will be called the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate, and will develop ideas and programs for a citizen's based Fifth Estate of regional and local, campus and community groups which will seek to prevent that vision of George Orwell in his prophetic novel "1984" from becoming the social and political reality of America.

The Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate, a non-profit, non-partisan endeavor will sponsor two resource groups in Washington, D.C. to serve the development of the Fifth Estate.

The Intelligence Documentation Center is a library of information on U.S. Intelligence and secret government operations available to journalists, researchers, scholars, and concerned citizens.

The Counter-Spy Campaign is preparing an organizing manual and other materials to focus on a public effort to combat technofascism—the societal form described by Orwell.

"Big Brother may be watching us, but now the Fifth Estate will be watching Big Brother", said Mr. Tim Butz, one of the three full-time coordinators of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate.

Citizens wishing more information may contact the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate, P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044."

PROSPECTUS FOR 1974

In-From-The-Cold Hearings

The In-From-The-Cold Hearings are tentatively scheduled for early Fall 1974, shortly after Congress reconvenes. The hearings had been scheduled earlier for 1973 by CARIC, but financial limitations precluded staff from traveling to investigate the testimony of prospective witnesses. Approximately thirty individuals have been cleared for testifying at the hearings. Currently two days of testimony are planned, but it is possible that a third day will be added to the scenario as time passes.

The In-From-The-Cold Hearings will be an educational project of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate. The hearings will focus on American intervention abroad, domestic repression in this country and the effects of secrecy on the individual's personality and lifestyle. Testimony from former intelligence workers, scholars, and those who have been victimized by secret operations will be featured. For more information contact Mr. Tim Butz, In-From-The-Cold Hearings coordinator.

Intelligence Documentation Center

The IDC hopes to receive enough funding in 1974 to hire a full-time library scientist to facilitate growth of the IDC. In addition to refining existing storage and retrieval methods, the new staff person would cross-train other IDC staff in library science.

The IDC is an established institution among members of the Washington Press Corps. With the unification of CARIC with the Fifth Estate, the IDC has become an independent organization sponsored by the *Organizing Committee.*

Although independent the IDC will serve as a national information source for the developing Fifth Estate. We are incorporating the IDC as a library and are seeking 501(c)(3) status from the IRS. This status should help us to raise the funds necessary in 1974 for the growth of the IDC. The projected growth of information in the IDC by the end of 1974 is at least 150% of current material. For further information contact Mr. Bart Osborn, Director.

Counter-Spy Campaign

The Counter-Spy Campaign was established as a separate organization sponsored by the Organizing Committee to facilitate the development of the Fifth Estate. The Counter-Spy Campaign located in the Dupont Circle Building, utilizes the facilities of the Intelligence Documentation Center, located next door, to prepare educational materials, analysis and organizational tools.

One staff member of the Counter-Spy Campaign coordinates an Internal Security Watch Group of concerned citizens monitoring and analyzing the domestic programs of the intelligence community and the criminal justice agencies. In the past year the ISWG has formulated the action strategies of the CARIC's projects on internal security.

Another full-time staff member coordinates the Intervention Watch Group, composed of concerned citizens examining the intervention policies of our government. The IWG has coordinated the activities of CARIC opposed to clandestine intervention.

Due to lack of funding we have been unable to initiate organizing a Secrecy Watch Group or Technology Watch Group but we hope to do so later in calendar year 1974.

During calendar year 1974, the emphasis of the Organizing Committee and of the Counter-Spy Campaign will be on structure building rather than personal research or direct action. As a result the Counter-Spy Campaign will not be responding to crises and events to the same degree as CARIC did in 1973. Our Watch Groups will continue to function but with less emphasis and time spent on specific projects. The projects of these Watch Groups will be re-energized later in the year as additional funding is secured.

The Counter-Spy Campaign is producing organizing tools for the developing Fifth Estate. An organizing manual is in production and will be published by Summer. The manual will provide the basic information for the establishment

of local organizations within the Fifth Estate to study and work on terminating experiments with technofascism in their areas of the country. The manual will cover organizing techniques for both campus and community based organizations; research methodologies and action strategies to accomplish the goal of the Fifth Estate.

The Counter-Spy Campaign will also continue to develop the multimedia project began by CARIC. Currently a display on pacification in Vietnam and the Phoenix program is available for display by campus and civic groups. A slide show presentation on the development of technofascism will be available late in the Summer of 1974.

The Counter-Spy Campaign also recognizes the need for a journal of research, analysis and opinion on government operations similar to CARIC's Counter-Spy. This publication is temporarily discontinued until additional funding is secured. This will allow more time for the staff of the Counter-Spy Campaign and the Organizing Committee to complete the 1974 goal of structure building. Those who subscribed to CARIC publications will continue to receive all publications of the Counter-Spy Campaign.

With the addition of new staff in April 1974, the Counter-Spy Campaign will begin publishing a monthly four-page, tabloid size, free, mass-distributed newspaper called Intelligence Report to serve as the nationwide mass organ of the Fifth Estate. The first three pages of the Intelligence Report will cover national and international news and will be prepared by the staff of the Counter-Spy Campaign. The fourth page will be reserved for use by local groups of the Fifth Estate. The Counter-Spy Campaign will mail gallies of the first three pages to local organizers who will be encouraged to publish and distribute the Intelligence Report locally. The Intelligence Report can be used by them to organize their local group in the Fifth Estate. As more funding is secured by the Counter-Spy Campaign we will expand production of the local Washington, D.C. issue of Intelligence Report for use in organizing the Fifth Estate on the D.C. campuses in the 1974–75 school year.

Later in 1974, the Counter-Spy Campaign will initiate writing of the "Whole Spy Catalog," if funding is secured. This will serve as a research tool and citizen's access guide to secret government operations.

Along with the organizing manual, "The Whole Spy Catalog" will be an essential working tool for the developing Fifth Estate. For more information contact Winslow Peck.

Advisory Board

Shortly after the unification of CARIC and the Fifth Estate and the establishment of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate, the organizing Committee began building an Advisory Board. The Advisory Board is composed of major critics of government operations and individuals with particular knowledge of United States intelligence.

The Advisory Board's role is to provide, when requested, guidance and advice on specific operations of the Fifth Estate. Advisor's donate their time and advice with compensation or remuneration.

Although the viewpoints of our advisors may be contradictory on specific topics, we believe these differences of opinion will only broaden the perspective of the developing Fifth Estate. All publications will carry the disclaimer that they do not necessarily reflect the viewpoints or opinions of advisors, sponsors, or associates.

For more information contact Mr. Winslow Peck.

Citizens for a Fifth Estate

Along with our advisors, many prominent national and local figures have expressed their sponsorship of our activities. These persons who were either sponsors of CARIC or subscribers to CARIC publications may become Citizens for a Fifth Estate by contacting the Organizing Committee. A partial listing of Citizens for a Fifth Estate as well as the developing Advisory Board will soon be reflected in the stationary of the Organizing Committee as well as future publications. Citizens for a Fifth Estate will receive copies of all publications of the Counter-Spy Campaign and the Organizing Committee.

Speakers Bureau

The Organizing Committee also maintains a Speakers Bureau of individuals available for speaking before campus, civic, church or community groups. These individuals are familiar with United States Intelligence, secret operations and/

or the concept of the Fifth Estate. These people include members of the Organizing Committee and other former intelligence workers. We are happy to announce that Norman Mailer has joined our Speakers Bureau, donating his honoraria to the building of the Fifth Estate. For more information contact Mr. Winslow Peck.

Comments/Self-Criticism

The functions described in the 1973 Annual Report will continue and expand during the coming year due to our emphasis on structure building rather than personal research. The primary setback to operations in the past year has been our serious financial limitations. A long-term analysis of financing is now being formulated by the Organizing Committee. Our hope is to develop a plan for funding all our projects and adding additional staff as needed.

Again due to the financial limitations of 1973 we have over-extended ourselves in several directions. As a result you will notice in this report not only reorganization for 1974 reflecting our new emphasis but also a restructuring of priorities especially in the area of publications. Most notably our journal will be appearing on an unscheduled basis. Our desire is eventually, with adequate funding and new staff, to produce this quarterly. We can not do so now.

1973 was a good year; a year that marked the beginning of an historically unprecedented effort to educate and focus the public's resistance to the development of technofascism in America.

1974 will not only be a year of growth and structure building for the Organizing Committee, the IDC and the Counter-Spy campaign but also for many other similar groups across the country. These groups taking the ideas presented in our soon-to-be published organizing manual and the other ideas we will produce will begin to build their local organizations.

It is this development of a network of research and action organizations which will be the Fifth Estate. We do not believe that this development will be easy for those already engaged in this development or those who will come along later. It will take great effort to fulfill our goals. But the interest shown in the work of CARIC and the Fifth Estate convinces us that we will succeed.

Status report: 1973 financial statement for the Committee for Action Research on the Intelligence Community, Now the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate

Income for 1973 calendar year:	
Grants	$7,000.00
Income from part-time employment	4,500.00
Subscription/sponsorship	1,124.00
Loans	1,500.00
Bookstore sales of "Counter-Spy"	120.00
Total income	14,244.00
Expenses for 1973 calendar year:	
Administrative costs:	
Payroll	8,524.98
Office rent	1,328.00
Furniture and supplies	1,068.30
Miscellaneous expenses	421.85
Subtotal	11,343.13
Program development	1,088.80
Public relations (brochures, et cetera)	300.00
Intelligence Documentation Center (resource acquisition)	302.08
Publications	
"Counter-Spy" printing	601.40
"Intelligence Report" printing	301.09
"Counter-Spy" postage	124.60
"Intelligence Report" postage	103.10
Subtotal	1,130.19
Total expenditures	14,164.20

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR A FIFTH ESTATE

Timothy Butz, 26, served with Air Force reconnaissance units in Vietnam and Germany. He attended Kent State University in 1969–1970, leaving Kent State to work full time for Vietnam Veterans Against the War. He is the former Project Manager of Project Air War (Indochina Resource Center) and has testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the effects of Indochina bombing.

K. Barton Osborn, 29, served for three years with U.S. Army Military Intelligence, and later as a consultant to Agent Motivation Problems for the Central Intelligence Agency's Phoenix Program. He is a graduate of the American University School of International Service and has testified before the House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Government Information and the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Winslow Peck, 27, after joining the Air Force in 1966 served for nearly four years as an analyst for the National Security Agency in Europe, the Middle East and South East Asia. After separation, he joined the anti-war movement working in various capacities of research, logistics, negotiation and planning for local and national anti-war activities. He has written and contributed to several major articles on United States Intelligence.

[EXHIBIT 4]
(Referred to on p. 15 of the hearing.)

Inside the Company: CIA Diary

Philip Agee

Penguin Books

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Acknowledgements

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Among the people who especially helped, I wish to mention Robin Blackburn and his colleagues at the *New Left Review*, London. Neil Middleton of Penguin Books gave the support and guidance needed for completion, and Laurence Bright, O.P., had the difficult task of reducing almost 500 diary entries totalling over 300,000 words to this edition – perhaps still too long but far superior to the early draft. John Gerassi, Nicki Szulc and Michael Locker of the North American Congress for Latin America (NACLA) obtained vital research materials in New York and Washington, DC. Finally, I wish to thank Catherine Beaumont who helped me through a very difficult period in Paris.

Without these people and institutions this diary would be far more incomplete than the present form and probably still unwritten.

Inside the Company: CIA Diary

Philip Agee

Stonehill

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Acknowledgements

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Without these people and institutions this diary would be far more incomplete than the present form and probably still unwritten.

[EXHIBIT 6]

(Referred to on p. 19 of the hearing.)

Fifth Estate Security Education, P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C.

Center for National Security Studies (CNSS)/CIA Project, 122 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), National Office, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

National Action/Research on the Military Industrial Complex (NARMIC), American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), 160 North 15th Street Philadelphia, Pa.

Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y.

Citizens Commission of Inquiry, 103 Second Street, N.E., Washington, D.C.

Assassination Information Bureau, 63 Inman Street, Cambridge, Mass.

National Committee Against Repressive Legislation (NCARL), 510 C St., N.E., Washington, D.C.

National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR), 150 Fifth Avenue, Room 425, New York, N.Y.

Center for Constitutional Rights, 853 Broadway, 14th Floor, New York, N.Y. A clearinghouse for contact with various political/legal defense committees.

The National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

The Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party, P.O. Box 297, Oakland, Calif.

The AIFLD Information Committee, P.O. Box 8685, Washington, D.C.

Committee for an All-Union AIFLD, 1269 Howard St., Suite 101, San Francisco, Calif.

Recon Publications, P.O. Box 14602, Philadelphia, Pa.

Indochina Resource Center, 1322 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

EPICA (Latin American and Caribbean), 1500 Farragut Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. [Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action].

Promoting Enduring Peace, P.O. Box 103, Woodnut, Conn.

North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. or Box 226, Berkeley, Calif.

Southern Africa Committee, 244 West 27th Street, Fifth Floor, New York, N.Y. and P.O. Box 3851, Durham, N.C.

Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP), P.O. Box 3122, Columbia Heights Station, Washington, D.C. or P.O. Box 48, Harvard Square Station, Cambridge, Mass.

Friends of the Filipino People/CIA Project, 11 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass.

National Coordinating Center in Solidarity with Chile (NCCSC), 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 716, New York, N.Y.

Radical Information Project, P.O. Box 1643, Springfield, Mass.

Tricontinental Film Center, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

Emerging Population Alternatives (EMPA), 41 Union Square, New York, N.Y.

On Repression, Fascism, Police, Domestic Policy, Assassination and Terrorism:

Fifth Estate Security Education, P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C.

Campaign for Democratic Freedoms, P.O. Box 9662, Marina Del Rey, Calif.

ACLU Political Surveillance Project, 30 Dock Road, South Norwalk, Conn.

Coalition to End Grand Jury Abuse, 300 Atlantic Building, 930 F Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

National Lawyers Guild, 23 Cornelia Street, New York, N.Y.

[EXHIBIT 7]

(Referred to on p. 20 of the hearing.)

OPERATION: TRUTH & LIGHT

PUBLIC EDUCATION PROJECT ON THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY

The Public Education Project is sponsored by the Youth Project, Inc. of Washington, D.C. and is a year-long effort designed to create informed public discussion. The project will assist in setting up campus and community forums throughout the country and will act as a referral service for educational materials and resource groups.

All speakers participating in this project will be donating their time, energy, and fees to the Public Education Project in order to ensure its survival.

WHAT TYPES OF PROGRAMS ARE AVAILABLE?

Depending upon individual needs, there are several program formats available. Individual speakers can be obtained for general lectures and would also be available for more focused discussions in classroom settings. Seminars of several days can be arranged in which three or more speakers would be on campus for lectures and workshops. The Public Education Project will also act as a referral service for film presentations available on the subject. The speakers available through this project represent a broad spectrum of expertise on the intelligence community and greatly enhance the flexibility of programs that can be set up.

Some of the foremost experts on the intelligence community have agreed to participate in this program. Speakers include:

Jerry Berman: Director, Internal Security Project of Center for National Security Studies. Co-editor of *The Abuses of the Intelligence Agencies*. Public-interest lawyer, formerly co-director of a project on the Administration of Justice under Emergency Conditions.

Robert Borosage: Director, Center for National Security Studies. Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies. Public-interest lawyer and author of numerous articles on the CIA and national security questions.

Timothy Butz: Associate of Intelligence Documentation Center. Founding member of Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate and co-editor of *Counter-Spy*. Author of numerous articles on military intelligence. Currently researching the growing utilization of SWAT teams.

Cortland Cox: Associate of the Center for National Security Studies. Expert on CIA manipulation of third world countries.

Frank Donner: Director, ACLU Political Surveillance Project. Author of numerous works on the F.B.I.

Morton Halperin: Director of ACLU Project on National Security and Civil Liberties. Co-editor of *The Abuses of the Intelligence Agencies*. Currently in litigation involving an alleged national security wiretap placed on his phone. Former Assistant Deputy Director of Defense.

Victor Marchetti: Co-Author of the *CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*. Former executive assistant to the Deputy Director of the CIA.

John Marks: Co-author of the *CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*. Former staff assistant to the State Department Director of Intelligence.

K. Barton Osborn: Consultant to Intelligence Documentation Center. Former military intelligence agent and consultant to the CIA. Testified before Congress on the Phoenix Assassination Program. Author of numerous articles on the intelligence community.

George O'Toole: Former CIA technical specialist. Author of *The Assassination Tapes*.

Winslow Peck: Associate of the Intelligence Documentation Center. Founding member of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate and co-editor of *Counter-Spy*. Author of numerous articles on CIA and labor. Former analyst for the National Security Agency.

Douglas Porter: Director of the Intelligence Documentation Center. Co-editor of *Counter-Spy*. Author of numerous articles on right-wing terrorism and domestic repression.

Col. L. Fletcher Prouty (Ret.): Former military liaison to CIA. Author of *The Secret Team* and numerous articles on the intelligence community.

Marcus Raskin: Co-director of Institute for Policy Studies. Among his books are *Being and Doing* and *The Viet-Nam Reader*. Member of the Special Staff of the National Security Council in the Kennedy Administration.

Ron Ridenhour: Freelance journalist currently researching military contingency plans for martial rule in U.S. Helped to expose the My Lai massacre.

Anthony Russo: Co-defendant in Pentagon Papers trial. Former analyst for Rand Corporation.

Kirkpatrick Sale: Author of *SDS* and *Power Shift*. Authority on multinational corporations.

Patrick Saunders: Former Federal Drug Enforcement Agency Intelligence Officer. Author of numerous articles on DEA.

Ralph Stavins: Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies. Co-author *Washington Plans an Aggressive War* and numerous other works.

William Turner: Former special agent for the FBI. Author of several works on the FBI.

For more information contact Public Education Project on the Intelligence Community, 1611 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

[EXHIBIT 8]

(Referred to on p. 20 of the hearing.)

WE'RE LOOKING FOR SOMEONE LIKE YOU

DEAR FRIEND: The Intelligence Documentation Center (IDC), an independent research group on the intelligence community, is accepting applications for five intern positions this Spring. The session will begin January 30 and terminate April 30. If you are interested in gaining research experience in a politically conscious environment, the IDC program may be what you're looking for.

To assist you in your decision, the following explanation of the IDC 1976 intern project has been prepared by five student interns who worked at IDC this past fall. We think students should receive school credit for the three-month project, but we expect you to initiate a credit agreement with your school or professor(s). Most students have found they can receive a full semester's credit for working full time at IDC.

The program is designed to train young people in highly specialized areas of research methodology. Sociology, history, political science, and economics are all areas in which you can expect to gain much knowledge from your work with IDC.

THE INTELLIGENCE DOCUMENTATION CENTER

IDC is a non-profit, tax-exempt library and research group which was founded by members of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate. IDC now functions as an independent organization.

IDC was established as a direct result of people's growing concerns over government security agencies and their activities. Recent revelations which have exposed illegal wiretapping, mail surveillance, and dossier files on thousands of American individuals have led many people to believe that such activities threaten the basic principles on which our country was built. If these fundamental rights established in the Bill of Rights are indeed crumbling, IDC believes the public has the right to know. We think our primary responsibility is to increase public awareness in this area, and we believe the intern program is one way of accomplishing this goal. We hope to build our IDC resource center, to be utilized by all, with the knowledge and experiences gained by students and staff during this program.

We recently received a grant from a New York foundation to conduct a year-long study of the effects of repression and surveillance on movements for social change in the U.S. We have determined certain sectors of society which we think require special attention and we approach our research within a framework of class-analysis. We are trying to determine what movements exist now or have existed in the past, what the goals and tactics are or were, and how or whether government and corporate efforts were made to suppress or coopt such movements.

This is the area in which interns will do most of their research. IDC hopes that, after we evaluate the effects of such activities, a book will be published combining much of the research.

The five IDC staff members offer a wealth of experience, not only in research methods, but in government agencies as well.

Winslow Peck worked in the National Security Agency for four years and has been actively researching the intelligence community for five years.

Doug Porter has done extensive research in the areas of intelligence and right-wing terrorist organizations.

Eda Gordon was Senior Editor for four years of *Trial* magazine, published by the Association of American Trial Lawyers. She was also an investigator for the Wounded Knee Offense/Defense Committee in South Dakota in 1974–75.

Tim Butz brings his experience in Viet Nam Veterans Against the War and the Winter Soldier Investigation to IDC. He was a military intelligence expert for the Wounded Knee Offense/Defense Committee. He has done extensive inquiries into the numerous Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams around the country.

Margaret Van Houten, who has a degree in Sociology from the University of Buffalo, has researched the intelligence community for the past year in Washington. She is presently coordinating a public education project on intelligence agencies which includes dozens of campus teach-in programs around the country, at which the IDC staff members often speak.

THE INTERN PROGRAM

Although IDC is a research center on the intelligence arena, one of the most valuable experiences for the intern is participation in the collective. The IDC does not function as a hierarchy, which makes it necessary for all members to guide and help each other, yet develop self-direction and to maintain an honest and open attitude towards criticism and advice. The idea of a collective is that it functions as a unit; we work together to combine all our skills into one.

The following is a rough outline of the three-month spring schedule. It is only an outline, because we want to invite input from the interns themselves.

Orientation

This is a two-week period in which everyone can adjust to one another and read the basic works on the intelligence community. It's also a good time to arrange living situations for those who need them. The first readings on the list will be discussed. (See enclosed reading list.)

Seminars

The staff will present seminars on the intelligence agencies and related topics such as Red Squads, investigative techniques or current events. Weekly visitor seminars will be presented by individuals studying different areas in different research organizations. We have invited individuals who research such areas as the Middle East, Africa, and the JFK assassination to come and explain their findings to us. If interns show interest in any such areas, experts can be invited to speak.

Projects

While the interns are familarizing themselves with the subject, they will be asked to choose a specific sector of society, on which to focus their attention. In the time remaining, interns research their area using all types of research methods.

An intern, for example, focusing on labor would talk to authors of books on labor, trade union officials, labor supporters, and workers. Books on the history of labor and labor unions would need review. Periodicals published by both management and labor as well as government would require examination. One might even venture out into the factories or docks anl talk to workers on the job. There are many different angles and sources the intern must examine.

Guidance from the staff, as well as mutual assistance from the other interns, builds the cooperative spirit we want to maintain. These projects not only serve to enhance one's research techniques, but provide rare opportunities to meet people of varying backgrounds and political persuasions. At the same time, the intern program serves to train students in leadership skills. You'll find it is a course in assertiveness as well.

TO APPLY FOR THE INTERNSHIP

Send us a list of your job experience, travel, education (both formal and informal), and any organizations in which you have worked. Outlining those experiences which have influenced you the most, write us a letter tracing the evolution of your political thought. Be sure to include an explanation of why you want to work at IDC, as well as your present academic status. Deadline: January 1, 1976.

SCHOLARSHIPS

IDC offers scholarships for those who feel they need financial assistance during the program. If you are interested in applying for this $600 fellowship simply explain your financial status in your letter to us. Paid internships are rare and therefore, we feel it necessary to offer a scholarship to those students who otherwise couldn't consider such programs in Washington, D.C.

With careful budgeting, we have found that one can live in this relatively expensive city for approximately $200–$275 a month. The first month, if you need to find housing, is likely to cost more.

Though not impossible to find, housing usually means a tedious and difficult search. IDC staff will find a place for you to stay temporarily when you arrive and will assist you in finding permanent living quarters.

If you can be partially financed during the program, tell us what you feel you need to supplement your income. If you can get no financial assistance from your school or home, explain those circumstances too.

Send your letter of application to Doug Porter, C/o IDC, 2000 P St., Suite 403, Washington, D.C. 20036. For more information call: (202) 785–8385. On the bottom of the envelope write: Re Internship Program. You will hear from us soon.

The following is a sample from the IDC Intern reading list:

"The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence," Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks, Dell Publishers, 354pp. $1.75.

"Inside the Company: CIA Diary," Phillip Agee, Stonehill, 597 pp. $10.00.

Counter-Spy, a magazine published by the Fifth Estate. Send for a copy. Write The Fifth Estate, P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C.

"Investigating the FBI," Sherrill, Marshall, Navasky, et al. A Collection of Essays. 470pp. available at libraries or at cost $9.95 (also paperback).

"Higher Circles," William G. Domhoff, Vintage Books, 353pp. $1.95.

"The Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove," Center for Research on Criminal Justice. Available from the Fifth Estate, P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C.

"The Secret Team: the CIA and its Allies in Control of the United States and the World," Co. L. Fletcher Prouty, Prentice Hall, $8.95.

"Basic Elements of Intelligence," Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). Write LEAA, 633 Indiana Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

"Army Field Manual" 19–20 Criminal Investigations 1973. Write U.S. Department of the Army, the Pentagon, Washington, D.C.

[EXHIBIT 10]

(Referred to on p. 24 of the hearing.)

AUDIO AND VIDEO TAPES OF THE ANN ARBOR TEACH-IN, NOVEMBER 2, 3, AND 4, 1975

Both video and audio tapes of the various speakers at the Ann Arbor Teach-In (Nov. 2, 3, and 4, 1975) will soon be available for distribution. The entire Teach-In was video taped and the following schedule indicates the included speakers, the topics of their speeches, and the approximate length of time of the tapes. If you are interested in purchasing a copy of any of these tapes contact Brett Eynon, 336½ S. State Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48104. Phone (313) 995–2097.

Mark Lane, "The assassination of President Kennedy," 2½ hours.

Donald Freed, "The assassination of Robert Kennedy," 2½ hours.

Robert Katz, "The assassination of Martin Luther King," 2½ hours.

Richard Barnett, "Multinational Corporations," 2½ hours.

Sidney Lens, "Labor's Role in Covert War" (Marshal Plan "cover story"; collusion between AFL–CIO and CIA; Covert corporate manipulation).

Carl Olgelsby, "Subversion of the Forces of Dissent; an overview" (counsel on Foreign Relations and the Atlantic World Alliance; FDR's collusion with organized crime; how Nazi intelligence elite formed the core of the U.S. intelligence apparatus in Europe prior to and during the cold war).

Syd Stapleton, "The FBI's Cointelpro and the CIA's Chaos."

Donald Freed, "Counter-terrorism and the Agent Provocateur" (What the media never told us about Watergate and the SLA scenario; links between terrorism in the U.S. and the intelligence community).

David DuBois, "Conspiracy Against the Black Liberation Movement."

William Kunstler, "Police Repression; an overview."

Tim Butz, "The Militarization of Police."

John Frappier, "New Police Technology."

David DuBois, "Police Repression in Oakland County."

Chuck Morgan, "Secret Technology vs. Democracy" (Satellites, sensors, computers and the death of Democracy).

Blanch Cook, "The Garrison State and Mind Control" (Behavior Mod., psychosurgery, drugs, electric brain stimulation).

Steve Chorover, "Behavior Modification: From Genesis to Genocide" (emphasis on similarity of world view of scientists in Naxi Germany and the contemporary U.S.).

Dan Georgakas, "Behavor Modification in Prisons."

William Burroughs, "The Control Game" (The dialects of Control) 20 minutes.

William Stringfellow, "Techno-Tyranny and Counter-Revolution."

Jeremy Rifkin, "The American Revolution; a two hundred year cover-up" (The Corporate elite as a present day monarcy).

Eqbal Ahmad, "Revolution in the Third World" (Organic links between imperialism abroad and oppression and erosion of freedoms at home) 90 minutes.

All lectures 30 minutes to 1 hour long unless otherwise noted.

FIFTH ESTATE

P.O. BOX 647, BEN FRANKLIN STATION, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20044
(202) 785-8330

Coordinators
Tim Butz
Winslow Peck
Doug Porter
Margaret Van Houten

Legal Counsel
Alan Dranitzke
Forer and Rein
Washington DC

Advisory Board*
Philip Agee
Former CIA case officer
Fred Branfman, *Co-Director, Indochina Resource Center*
Sylvia Crane, *Author, National Committee Against Repressive Legislation*
David Dellinger, *Institute for New Communications.*
Frank Donner, *Author, Director, ACLU Political Surveillance Project.*
Mark Lane *Author Citizen's Commission of Inquiry*
Dr. Ralph Lewis, *Criminal Justice Research Director, Michigan State University.*
Victor Marchetti, *Author, Former CIA Official.*
Col. L. Fletcher Prouty (ret.), *Author, Former military liaison to CIA.*
K. Barton Osborn *Former CIA Consultant*
Marcus Raskin, *Co-Director, Institute for Policy Studies.*
Tony Russo, *Author, Former RAND ,Corp. Official.*
Kickpatrick Sale, *Author.*
Stanley Sheinbaum, *American Civil Liberties Union*
Rev. Phillip Wheaton, *Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action.*

*Organizations for identification purposes only.

Dear Concerned Citizen:

Do you know that the CIA probably has a dossier on you?

The Rockefeller Commission Report supported charges of massive illegal domestic spying by the CIA, including Operation CHAOS which:

> compiled some 13,000 different files on 7,200 American citizens. The documents in these files...included the names of more than 300,000 persons and organizations, which were entered into a computerized index.

It is a good bet that you are listed in that index.

The Rockefeller Commission limited its investigations to domestic abuses of power by the CIA. Further disclosures of illegal and unethical acts will soon be forthcoming as the Congressional Committees investigating the intelligence community issue reports on the activities of the FBI, the IRS, Military Intelligence, and federally-supported state and local police intelligence agencies.

How many of these organizations have files on you and your friends? Why do many policy-makers view an informed American public as being a threat to our national security? And what can be done by a concerned citizen to end these threats to our freedoms?

Your support is needed for those institutions of our society which are striving to maintain our democratic heritage. The Congress and the media need your support in their investigations and recommendations for preventing future abuses of power. Your support is essential for countering the claims of those in the espionage establishment that current probes are "destroying" our national security. Freedoms for future generations can only be insured by vigorous monitoring of our government. Good citizenship demands dedication to terminating wrong-doing by those entrusted with power.

We invite you to join with the Fifth Estate as a forum for exercising your responsibilities. The Fifth Estate began as a core group of ex-journalists, activists, and former government employees in 1972, and is now rapidly growing into a nation-wide grassroots community of opposition to abuses of government power.

(over)

The Fifth Estate is:

**active in monitoring the activities of the intelligence community and the military services. They are watching Big Brother.
**providing relevant and insightful information on U.S. security agencies to investigative Congressional Committees. The Fifth Estate has encouraged dozens of former government spies to offer testimony.
**regularly briefing the press on new developments which warrant news coverage, as well as providing corroborative data for many of the more important recent revelations.
**building a library of information on intelligence and abuses of power, available for use by any concerned individual.
**organizing, along with other national groups, a series of teach-ins throughout the United States to discuss foreign and domestic security policies. Beginning this fall, these teach-ins and other events are being planned to stimulate opposition to abuses of power on the grassroots level.
**encouraging all citizens to use the new Freedom of Information Act to obtain their personal files from Federal agencies. The Fifth Estate uses the Act to selectively search for data on the past activities of government agencies and their plans for the future.
**publishing a quarterly journal, Counter-Spy, which documents governmental activities, contains commentary from knowledgeable experts, presents theoretical analysis, and information on what you can do now to protect your freedoms.

These are only a few areas of involvement by the Fifth Estate. We urge you to become a sustaining member of the Fifth Estate to insure that this vital work continues. The Fifth Estate provides a forum outside of government for citizens to express their viewpoints. There are 64 Federal agencies and hundreds of state and local intelligence units that fear one thing--your voice!

As a Fifth Estate sustainer, you will receive the quarterly journal, Counter-Spy, and other materials designed to keep you informed. Your ideas and suggestions will be solicited periodically through polls reflecting current issues of intelligence and national security. And you will receive invitations to special events in your community focusing on abuses of governmental power.

You can speak out by joining with the Fifth Estate. Your donation of $15 or more will insure that this vital organization continues to grow and develop. We urge you to involve yourself with this important issue and organization.

Victor Marchetti

Norman Mailer

Philip Agee

THE CIA AND YOU:

The Intelligence Community in U.S. Internal Affairs

THE CIA AND YOU:

The Intelligence Community in U.S. Internal Affairs

In the United States, there are more persons working actively in the Intelligence Community than there are farmers. The financing of their activities is scaled greater than the coal-mining industry. At the center of this conglomerate stands the CIA, employing between 10,000 and 15,000 people who devote a substantial part of their time to gathering and collating information on private American citizens, in ways that are often illegal and always a threat to individual liberty.

How much do we know about the far-flung empire we call the Intelligence Community? It encompasses the intelligence arms of various offices of the Executive branch, including the Treasury Department, the Department of Justice, the Department of Defense, and the Central Intelligence Agency. With a history as long as that of the nation itself, it has grown and developed over the past two hundred years in an environment of maximum secrecy. Supposedly a servant of our country and our government, it has a life of its own, so that very few people have any understanding of what principles and goals govern its actions. The CIA, for example, follows its own foreign policy—unexplained, inexplicable, and responsive only to forces that remain a mystery to our citizenry. Few people even know what the Intelligence Community is authorized to do, much less what it actually does.

Information about the Intelligence Community is information no citizen can afford to do without. What is the structure of the Intelligence Community? How do its components interact and how do they work against each other? What is Covert Action? How does the CIA relate to the multinational corporation? How do the activities of the Intelligence Community affect our daily lives? We should try to answer these questions as if our lives depended on it, because they do.

These questions are some of the major points in the program developed by two former intelligence operatives in cooperation with the Fifth Estate and the Center for National Security Studies. Anthony Russo or Barton Osborn will present a lecture illustrated with film that can equip the modern citizen with the knowledge necessary to understand the Intelligence Community and, perhaps, to deal with it.

LD LORDLY & DAME, Inc. 51 Church Street, Boston, Mass. 02116 617/482-3533

ABOUT THE PRESENTERS OF "CIA AND YOU"

K. Barton Osborn

Having worked for years in illegal intelligence programs for the Army and the CIA, K. Barton Osborn speaks from experience. The former director of political agent operations for the infamous Phoenix Program brings a wealth of expertise to the platform. A witness before House and Senate Committees, founder of the Intelligence Documentation Center, and analyst of the Intelligence Community (articles in **Harper's** and **Playboy**), the thirty-one year old Osborn believes the best way to bring government spying under responsible control is to publicize it.

Anthony J. Russo

Anthony Russo earned a national reputation for helping Daniel Ellsberg photocopy the Pentagon Papers. . . and for going to jail for it. Work with the RAND Corporation's Viet Cong Motivation and Morale Project gave him a first-hand view of intelligence activities. His opposition to the war after his return to the U.S. in 1968 made him the object of intense government surveillance and general harassment. An expert on American intelligence methods, he has been personally wiretapped, beaten up, and jailed.

"Keep On Keepin' On..."

The events of the last decade have graphically shown that the CIA operates beyond the scope of common decency, international law, and its legally mandated mission. We hope that you will join in the struggle to abolish the CIA, a task that is not beyond the capabilities of the American people. Just as millions of people were mobilized over the years to stop American intervention in Indochina, millions can be mobilized for this important task.

RESOURCE CENTERS

The Fifth Estate
P.O. Box 647
Washington D.C. 20044
(202)785-8330

Center for National Security Studies
122 Maryland Ave NE
Washington D.C. 20002
(202)544-5380

Freedom of Information Clearinghouse
P.O. Box 19367
Washington D.C. 20036

ACLU Political Surveillance Project
30 Dock Road
South Norwalk, Conn. 06854

POLITICAL ASSASSINATION RESEARCH

Citizens Commission of Inquiry
103 Second St. NE
Washington D.C. 20002
(202)546-7500

Assassination Investigations Bureau
63 Inman Street
Cambridge, Mass 02138
(617)661-8411

CONGRESSIONAL LOBBY WORK

National Committee Against Repressive Legislation
510 C Street NE
Washington D.C. 20002
(202)543-7659

FOREIGN INTERVENTION RESEARCH

Indochina Resource Center
1322 18th St. NW
Washington D.C. 20036
(202)785-3111

North American Congress of Latin America
P.O. Box 57
Cathedral Station
New York, NY 10025

EPICA (Latin America)
1500 Farragut St. NW
Washington D.C. 20011

Southern Africa Committee
244 West 27th St. 5th Floor
New York, NY 10001

Middle East Research and Information Project
P.O. Box 3122
Washington D.C. 20010

Friends of the Filipino People
11 Garden St.
Cambridge, Mass 02138

COUNTERSPY

The Quarterly Journal Of The Fifth Estate

Counter-Spy is a journal of research, analysis and opinion on the activities of all government intelligence agencies, from the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). **Counter-Spy** is published by the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate, an organization dedicated to exposing and stopping the technofascist tactics of "Big Brother."

If you would like to know more about the Fifth Estate, feel free to drop us a line at: P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044.

☐ **Enclosed is $6. Please send me *Counter-Spy* for the next year.**

☐ **I'd like to see a sample issue of *Counter-Spy*. Enclosed is $1.50.**

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____

Checks should be payable to the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate.

KEEPING INFORMED...

A BASIC UNDERSTANDING of U.S. intelligence operations can be gathered from a number of books available in libraries or in paperback format. Books such as **CIA and the Cult of Intelligence** by Victor Marchetti and John Marks, **The Invisible Government** by David Wise, and **The Secret Team** by Fletcher Prouty are three important books that will give the reader a sense of the depth, form, and history of U.S. intelligence operations. For a more complete listing of books available, write the Fifth Estate, Box 647, Washington D.C. 20044.

FORMER CIA OFFICER PHIL AGEE's book **Inside the Company: CIA Diary** is a firsthand account of CIA operations in Latin America. The book is currently unavailable inside the U.S., but can be legally sent to you by friends in Canada or Great Britian. CIA Director William Colby has threatened to bring criminal charges against Agee because of the accuracy and content of this important and informative book.

ORGANIZED TEACH-INS AND SEMINARS sponsored by student-faculty groups, labor unions, and community organizations have occurred throughout the country this spring with thousands of people participating. Just as the teach-in effort was an integral part of building the civil rights and anti-war movements, they can also be valuable in marshalling public sentiment against repressive police and intelligence agencies operations. Resources for one to three day conferences are plentiful, and a partial listing of resource organizations is included in this pamphlet.

LOCAL RESEARCH/ACTION TEAMS can conduct investigations and political work around a number of crucial areas. Campus based teams, for example, could begin to identify the CIA recruiting officer/professor at their school, or the ties between collegate institutes and the CIA. Community based teams could begin to investigate the workings of local "red squads" and political intelligence units. The Fifth Estate stands ready to help with the formation and training of such groups when help is requested. It is our hope that every intelligence unit, no matter how "small" will experience a thorough "citizen's examination" of their operations.

...TO BUILD FOR ACTION

EXPOSE AND CONFRONT INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY RECRUITERS when they appear on your campus: both the CIA and the National Security Agency have adopted a policy of "open recruitment", although the CIA also maintains a network of "old boy" recruiters on major campuses. Just as confronting Dow Chemical and other war profiteers was a successful tactic for raising the question of government-corporate-academic cooperation during the '60s, confronting CIA and NSA recruiters can raise these same points of government-corporate-academic cooperation during the '70s.

ORGANIZE COALITIONS TO WORK FOR POLICE BUDGET CUTS. Recent exposes of illegal operations by local police departments can provide a fulcrum for forcing the city council to cut funding to police departments for spying activities. As has been shown in New York, Chicago, and Washington D.C., the targets of police intelligence have been a broad spectrum of liberal and radical organizations. Perhaps the abolition of police political intelligence work is one area that these groups can unite upon.

A LEGISLATIVE FOCUS ON INTELLIGENCE: The Congress currently has four separate committees working on intelligence investigations. Additionally, state and county legislatures are conducting similar investigations, or can be pressured to do so. We suggest that you write or visit your local representatives and express your viewpoints on abuses of power by the intelligence community. For a complete listing of Congressional investigative committees and their members, write the Fifth Estate or the Center for National Security Studies.

WRITE FOR YOUR FILE: Under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act, you can now contact the FBI, CIA, or other Federal agencies and request copies of files they may have on you. Although certain items may be legally deleted from your file prior to its release, you can get an idea of the depths of government spying on your life. Different agencies require different pieces of information in order to search their files, and further information on procedures can be obtained from the Fifth Estate, Center for National Security Studies, The Freedom of Information Clearinghouse, or your local ACLU.

MOBILIZE FOR THE FALL: Plans are now underway for demonstrations against the CIA and transnational corporate intervention in the sovereign affairs of other nations. Suggested sights for the demonstrations are Washington D.C., Chicago, and a west coast city: the most probable date for these actions will be Sept. 11th, the second anniversary of the coup d'etat in Chile. For further information concerning these mobilizations, contact the Fifth Estate.

Tues. Jan 13

THE TBS FORUM

Central YWCA
(Park & Franklin)
7:30 p.m.
A donation of $1.25 will be requested at the door. All proceeds will go to the Public Education Project on the Intelligence Community.

Tim Butz and Winslow Peck on

DOMESTIC REPRESSION

Both speakers are associates of the Intelligence Documentation Center, founding members of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate, and both are co-editors of **Counter-Spy.**

Tim Butz has written extensively on military intelligence and is currently studying the growing use of SWAT teams. He served with Air Force reconnaissance in Vietnam and Germany before becoming active with the VVAW and Project Air War.

Winslow Peck served for four years as an analyst with the National Security Agency in Europe, the Middle East, and South East Asia. He has since been active in national anti-war activities, and has published several major articles on United States Intelligence and on the CIA and organized labor.

THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD
& THE FIFTH ESTATE

present a film

"THE RISE & FALL OF THE CIA"

with speakers

JOSEPH FORER
founding member of
NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

TIM BUTZ
co-editor of COUNTER-SPY

FEB. 10

7:30 & 9:30 pm

KEY THEATRE
1222 WISCONSIN AVE NW

donation: $4
(includes latest COUNTER-SPY)

for information: 785-0684

----------MAIL ORDER COUPON----------

Please send me _____ tickets for the 7:30 ( ) / 9:30 ( ) presentation. Enclosed is $_____.

I cannot attend. I enclose $_____ as a donation in support of the work of the National Lawyers Guild and the Fifth Estate.

Name

Address City, State, Zip

Checks are payable to the National Lawyers Guild, c/o Box 647, Ben Franklin Station Washington, D.C. 20044

[EXHIBIT 11]

(Referred to on p. 25 of the hearing)

JANUARY 31, 1975.

CLARENCE M. KELLEY,
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KELLEY: You are doubtless aware that a group known as the Organizing Committee for the Fifth Estate (OC 5) operates in Washington, D.C., from P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044, telephone 202/785-8330, with the self-stated aim of "spying on Big Brother, the American intelligence community."

The OC 5, formerly called the Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community (CARIC), has previously been involved in disclosures of confidential security operations of several U.S. intelligence agencies. These staffers are listed as including Tim Butz, also of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW); Perry Fellwock, aka Winslow Peck; K. Barton Osborn and Gary Thomas.

I am sure you will share my concern that an OC 5 organizer has stated that the group's library, the Intelligence Documentation Center, contains "stolen documents," and said they want "a classified memo a day to leak." (I enclose the relevant news clipping).

As a member of the House Armed Services Committee concerned with the security of our country's military and defense secrets, I would appreciate hearing from you relative to any investigations the Bureau has made of this matter and whether or not the results were turned over to the Justice Department for possible prosecution?

Your cooperation in this matter will be greatly appreciated by me.

Sincerely,

LARRY P. MCDONALD.

[From the Berkely Barb, Jan. 3-9, 1975]

SPYING ON BIG BROTHER

(By Steve Long)

"We want a classified memo a day to leak." The speaker was Doug Porter, a young bearded former underground reporter who is now with the Washington-based Fifth Estate.

The Fifth Estate was described by Doug Porter as a "non-profit, non-partisan, non-polluting organization dedicated to spying on Big Brother, the American intelligence community. Our only consumers of information are the American public."

Doug Porter was recently in Berkeley to present a slide show on US foreign and domestic strategy, and this reporter talked with him about the origins of the Fifth Estate. The parent organization out of which the Fifth Estate grew was known as the Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community (CARIC).

CARIC was the source for one of the first Watergate stories by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein of The Washington Post. CARIC also provided opposition witnesses to the confirmation hearings of CIA Director William Colby, thereby bringing out new information on the infamous Operation Phoenix (a CIA program to destroy the NLF infrastructure in South Vietnam). A final accomplishment of CARIC was the smashing of the Washington, D.C., "red Squad" in 1973. CARIC convinced a D.C. police informer, Bob Merritt, to "turn over"—to quit the police and talk about his experiences, thus exposing the key agents in the D.C. red squad.

At the same time that CARIC was operating early in 1973 author Norman Mailer established another organization with the same purpose. Mailer announced at his 50th birthday party, attended by New York's elite, that as his birthday present to the American people he was going to do something about the level of paranoia in the US—he was going to create an organization, to be called "the Fifth Estate," to watch the other four estates (the three branches of the Federal government plus the media).

Mailer proceeded to speak on college campuses for the next six months about his new organization, at the end of which time he had a mailing list and little else except a paper organization.

CARIC and Mailer's Fifth Estate merged as a result of a "Dear Norman" letter by Nat Hentoff in the Village Voice. Hentoff wrote that CARIC was doing effective work, so why not merge the two organizations? Mailer agreed, and the merger was effected in March, 1974. The name of Mailer's organization, the Fifth Estate, was retained after the merger.

"The effect of the merger is that Norman gives us money and uses his good name on our behalf, and we do the work," Doug Porter said.

Doug said that there are currently three major projects of the Fifth Estate. The first project is "mass outreach," oriented toward college students (this is why Doug was in Berkeley). Fifth Estate speakers are touring 25 cities across the country this fall, "to let people know the Fifth Estate wants to work with them and for them," Doug said, adding, "it's not an elitist thing, we want to have tentacles everywhere."

A second major project of the Fifth Estate over the next two years, is the Labor Education Project, which involves "researching the infrastructure between the CIA and organized labor in this country," Doug said. This will be the main topic of forthcoming issues of Counter-Spy, the Fifth Estate's quarterly journal, over the next year. "We're trying to get this information to rank-and-file groups," Doug added. There are plans for a book to be published next year on the labor project.

The third on-going project is the building of the Intelligence Documentation Center (IDC). "It is a library—a data base—located in Washington, D.C., so that researchers can have it readily available for their use. It always has more materials available on the intelligence community than the Library of Congress." The IDC consists not only of books, but files—"press clippings, debriefings we have done, government reports, corporate reports, and stolen documents," Doug said.

A book to be published next year will be based on the IDC. The book is The Whole Spy Catalog, described by Doug as "a compendium of everything we know about the intelligence community, and some helpful hints on how people can fight back."

The Fifth Estate is very conscious that the government might conduct counter-intelligence operations against it, so it has an office with 24-hour security. There is also an active Advisory Board, which includes such people as Victor Marchetti, a former high-ranking CIA official, and authors Marcus Raskin, Kirkpatrick Sale, William Turner (also a former FBI agent), and Tony Russo (of Penatgon Papers fame). "One of the reasons for the Advisory Board is to prevent us from being used as a conduit for misinformation," Doug said.

In his slide show and talk on U.S. foreign and domestic strategy since World War II, given two weeks ago on the U.C. campus, Doug Porter said that over-all U.S. strategy has been to encircle the socialist world. There have been four readjustments of U.S. strategy.

The first readjustment, during the 1949–1950 period, grew out of the Truman Doctrine. It involved such clandestine activities as CIA infiltration of European labor unions, and "Operation Splinder Factor," a project that fed Stalin erroneous information.

The years 1950–1960 were the height of the Cold War, and US global strategy was based on the doctrine of masisve retaliation. The CIA carried on significant clandestine activities in Indochina, Korea, Iran (a coup in 1953), Guatamala (a coup in 1954), Egypt, Costa Rica, Indonesia (the attempted overthrow of Sukarno in 1958), and Laos (creation of the "secret army"). This period of the second readjustment of US strategy also saw the development of U–2 spy planes, and the use of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty (both CIA-sponsored) to contribute to the 1956 Hungarian uprising.

In the third period, 1961–1968, US strategy was known as "strategy for peace," and saw the development of Kennedy's "flexible response" doctrine and LBJ's escalation policy in Indochina. The CIA carried on significant clandestine activities in Indochina, Israel (massive clandestine aid), Cuba (Bay of Pigs), Bolivia (the murder of Che Guevara in 1967), the Congo (some of the Cuban mercenaries used in the Bay of Pigs were used), and the Dominican Republic

(overt US military intervention in 1965). A Tibetan mercenary army was trained in Colorado. But in spite of these clandestine CIA activities, the world balance of power shifted toward the Third World.

The fourth and final period of readjustment of US global strategy, from 1969 to the present, is the period of the Nixon Doctrine, also known as the "new strategy for peace." In Indochina, South Vietnam is still a US neo-colony. The Thieu government is now being "destabilized" with the covert aid of the CIA. Vietnamization is a way to prolong the war, not to end it, and Vietnam has been used as a testing ground for such US techniques as the electronic battlefield.

The CIA and US military intelligence are also being used to aid US allies. British special air service troops (their Green Berets) are being trained in North Carolina to fight in Northern Ireland. The CIA has recently increased the number of its agents in Great Britain with the hope of undermining the strikes of British industrial workers. The CIA is currently aiding proto-fascist groups in Italy, and US military intelligence agencies are being used to spy on German and Japanese citizens.

The recent coups in Cyprus and Greece were CIA-sponsored, Doug believes. In Africa, retiring US Green Berets are now being recruited to fight liberation movements in Mozambique and Rhodesia. The CIA, in spite of a recent public relations campaign, is still up to its old "dirty tricks."

Anyone interested in more information on the Fifth Estate or in subscribing to Counter-Spy ($6 per year) should write the Fifth Estate, Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C., 20044.

[Pending FBI—Fifth Estate (OC-5)]

FEBRUARY 27, 1976.

CLARENCE M. KELLEY,
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KELLEY: With regard to my letter to you of January 31, 1975, regarding the activities of the Washington, D.C. based group known as the Organizing Committee for the Fifth Estate (OC 5).

Information indicates that OC 5 activity has been expanded into new areas during the weeks since my letter and I am at a loss to understand why I have received neither an acknowledgement nor a response from you.

May I hear from you as promptly as possible?

Sincerely,

LARRY P. MCDONALD.

FEBRUARY 11, 1975.

Hon. LARRY P. MCDONALD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MCDONALD: Receipt is acknowledged of your communication dated January 31, 1975, which enclosed a newspaper clipping from the "Berkeley Barb" issue of January 3–9, 1975.

A review of the news clipping referred to above does not indicate that the "stolen documents" as quoted therein are items which are the property of the United States Government. However, since the article does refer to the apparent desire of unauthorized groups to instigate the "leak" of classified information, this matter is being referred to the Attorney General for any action which he may deem appropriate.

I wish to thank you for bringing this matter to my attention.

Sincerely yours,

CLARENCE M. KELLEY,
Director.

APRIL 4, 1975.

Hon. LARRY P. MCDONALD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: This is in response to your recent letter to the Attorney General requesting additional information concerning an organization known as the Organizing Committee for the Fifth Estate (OC 5).

As Director Kelley has informed you, we have had referred to us by the Federal Bureau of Investigation information you provided on OC 5 concerning an allegation that the organization had announced its intention to obtain classified information. At the time, we instructed the FBI that should the organization or individuals associated with it, take any overt steps to implement this objective, the matter should be promptly referred to the Department so that a determination can be made as to whether there has been a violation of Federal law and further investigation is warranted.

We appreciate your interest in calling this matter to our attention.

Sincerely,

JOHN C. KEENEY,
Acting Assistant Attorney General.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,
Washington, D.C., March 11, 1975.

Hon. LARRY P. MCDONALD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MCDONALD: Receipt is acknowledged of your letter dated February 27, 1975, and may I also refer to your letter of January 31, 1975, in which you were kind enough to bring to my attention certain matters appearing in the "Berkeley Barb," which were of concern to you.

Your most recent letter advised that you did not receive my reply to your letter of January 31, 1975. This, naturally, is of concern to me and I wish to assure you that I did indeed reply to your letter by communication dated February 11, 1975. For your convenience, I am enclosing a Xerox copy of a file copy of my communication. It should be noted that this file copy does not bear my signature as only the original which was directed to you was signed by me.

As you were advised in my letter of February 11, 1975, the information furnished by you has been referred to the Attorney General for any action which he may deem appropriate and, to date, this Bureau has received no response from his office.

Once again, I wish to thank you for bringing this matter to my attention.

Sincerely yours,

CLARENCE M. KELLEY,
Director.

Enclosure.

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